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WALDO

AND THE WALDENSIANS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

By EMILIO COMBA,

PROFESSOR IN THE WALDENSIAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, FLORENCE, ITALY.

TRANSLATED BY T. E. COMBA.

"La question de l'origine des Vaudois nécessite un nouvel examen." — MUSTON.

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NEW YORK:
FOR SALE BY ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,
AND BY DODD, MEAD, & COMPANY,
1880.

Franklin Press: Rand, Avery, & Co., Boston.

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LA RIVISTA CRISTIANA.

The only Evangelical Monthly Review published in Italy.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR EMILIO COMBA, 51 VIA DE' SERRAGLI, FLORENCE, ITALY.

Yearly Subscriptions for America, $1.60.

ADDRESS THE EDITOR, OR PROFESSOR T. E. COMBA, HUDSON, N.Y..

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Inoltre, quasi un centinaio d' articoli ogni anno su materie apologetiche, ecclesiastiche, ec e cenni e notizie attinenti alle quistioni religiose, moralie letterarie e politiche in Italia.

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PREFACE.

In the first number of "The Catholic Presbyterian" we read the following lines signed by the late Professor Peter Lorimer, D.D., of the Presbyterian Seminary of London: —

"It will be remembered by those who were present at the General Presbyterian Council in Edinburgh in 1877, that the condition of the history of the Waldensian Church was one of the subjects brought under the notice of the assembly. In the introductory paper read by me on *The Desiderata of Presbyterian History, and the Importance of Supplying Them*, I referred to the historical literature of that church in the following terms: —

"That eminently storied church has been fruitful in sympathetic historians, and down to our own times its long-settled historical traditions have never been seriously called in question save by its Roman adversaries. But in our own day these traditions have been thrown into the crucible of German criticism; and, if we should have to accept as valid and true the main results of this critical process, these would make no small change in the long-established views of the antiquity of that church and of the doctrinal relations and affinities in which it stands to the Reformation. We should have to conclude that the church of the Waldenses took its first rise from Peter Waldo towards the end of the twelfth century, instead of reaching back to the fourth or fifth; and that on a good many more points of doctrine and practice than we have been wont to believe, it continued down to the Reformation to coincide with the Church of Rome. The chief representative of

this somewhat trenchant criticism is Dr. Herzog, of Erlangen, whose study of the most ancient Waldensian literature has been very extensive and minute, and carried out in all the great libraries of Europe containing Waldensian MSS., and whose religious and ecclesiastical sympathies are all on the side of the Waldensian Church, and not of its adversaries. The question thus becomes an urgent one, what we are to think of this recent criticism coming from such a quarter at once so erudite and so friendly. We would all wish, I am sure, to suspend at least our own judgment upon it till we have heard the judgment of the Waldensian Church itself. We long to listen to the criticism of the Waldensian College of Florence. . . The able researches of Professor Comba, of Florence, are well known. . . We cannot but hope (and I have some encouragement from himself in this direction) to have the aid of his truly historical judgment, at once so independent and so circumspect, in coming to our final decision upon the interesting problems now referred to."

Moved by this invitation, so honorable and encouraging to me, I beg to respond to it, and to dedicate to the Second General Presbyterian Council, about to convene in Philadelphia, the following statements, very recently published by me in Italian, and now translated under my supervision.

I hope that the reader will find here the question summed up with some care, and even some additional notices drawn from new documents.

EMILIO COMBA.

AUGUST, 1880.

WALDO

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THE WALDENSIANS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

As in a chain link is joined to link, and in the sea the waves chase one another, so in the middle ages do we see re-actions connect themselves and succeed each other. The cause seems to be varied, according to whether one has regard to mediate or immediate reasons, theological or historical. For instance, the Cathari, better known in Italy by the name of Patareni, derived the germ of their doctrines from old and Pagan traditions; but they increased and prospered in the midst of mediæval Christianity. And with regard to the Waldensians, if they drew their faith — the very cause of their existence — from the eternal word of Christ, yet only after that and other re-actions did they arise from the midst of noticeable events which indicated their origin. This, at any rate, was the opinion of the oldest narrators, to whom it will be well for us to return in order to get the thread of the true information concerning the origin of the Waldensians. These ancient witnesses are divided into two classes: first, the Catholics.[1]

[1] See, for instance, the chronicles of BERNARDUS FONTIS CALIDI, ALANUS, STEPHANUS DE BORBONE or DE BELLAVILLA, apud DUPLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio*, etc., Vol. I.; that of an anonymous writer

According to Catholic testimonies, the origin of the Waldensians goes back to Peter Waldo of Lyons.[1] This their opinion remains almost unchanged with their successors even to this day.[2] Has this no weight, because of adverse source?

It will invite suspicion, some one will tell us, if it finds no echo with the Waldensian writers, from whom, however, we wish to hear.

From various testimonies that came to light many years ago, it was legitimate to infer that the primitive Waldensians accepted the opinions of their persecutors concerning their origin.[3] Now, the doubt upon this point is at last

of Lyons, ap. BOUQUET, *Recueil*, etc., Vol. XIII.; that of DAVID OF AUGSBURG, before called of Yvonetus, edit. of W. PREGER, München, 1878; that of PETER VALLIS CERNAII, ap. *Hist. Litt. de France*, Vol. XVII., and *Script. Hist. Franc.* of DUCHESNE, Vol. V.; that of RICCARDUS CLUNAC. ap. MURATORI, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Vol. III.; some passages of WALTER MAPES, *De Nugis Curialium*, quoted by USSERIUS, HAHN, etc.; the *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis* of RAINERIUS SACCO, ap. MART. and DUR., *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, Vol. V.; the works of the PSEUDO-RAINERIUS, ap. *Bibl. Max. Patr.*, Vol. XXV.; of MONETA, POLICHDORF, CLAUDE OF SEYSSEL, etc.

[1] We will limit ourselves to a few quotations: "Waldenses autem dicti sunt a primo hujus haeresis auctore qui nominatus fuit Waldensis." — STEPHANUS DE BELL. "Auctor et inventor fuit quidam civis Lugdunensis nomine Valdensis, a quo sectatores ejus fuerunt taliter nominati." — RICC. CLUN. "Valdesios a primate ipsorum Valde dictos." — MAPES. "Hi Valdenses dicuntur a suo haeresiarca qui vocabatur Valdus." — ALANUS. "Valdenses dicebantur a quodam Valdio." — P. VALCERN. "Non enim multum temporis est quod coeperunt. Quoniam sicut patet a Valdesio cive Lugdunensi exordium acceperunt. . . . Vos venistis a Valdesio." — MONETA.

[2] The exceptions are not supported by any historical proof. See, for instance, BOTTA, *Storia d'Italia*, an. 1541–42. Comp. *Osservazioni sopra la Storia d'Italia scritta da Carlo Botta*, of G. B. SEMERIA, Turin, 1833.

[3] Besides MONETA and a MS. of Strasburg an. 1404, in the *Niedner*

removed, thanks to the discovery of documents that relate partly to the Italian branch flourishing in Lombardy,[1] and partly to the Gallic branch that had already penetrated into the Cottian Alps.[2]

However, we see at first the rise of conflicting stories occasioned by theological disputes. It was inevitable, that, in contrast with the apostate church which was forever boasting of its apostolic succession, there should arise anew the protest of Claudius, Arnaldo, and the Patareni, to recall the people to the traditions lost at the time of Constantine.[3] And since the Waldensians had given themselves up to this work of restoration, they became indeed successors of the apostles in spirit and in truth.[4] This fact, manifest in itself, opened the way here and there to a less legitimate ambition, no longer of mere antiquity of

Zeitschrift, 1852, p. 238, see LYDIUS, *Waldensia*, II., p. 117, where he says, "Horum ecclesiae nostris multo antiquiores, quae nomen habent a Waldo quodam cive Lugdunensi, *ut perhibent*." Comp. p. 8, note 2.

[1] *Rescriptum heresiarcharum Lombardie ad pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alamania.* In this epistle, written not long after 1218, Waldo is mentioned as the pioneer of the Waldensian movement, and his followers are called *Valdesiani, socii Valdesii*, etc. See W. PREGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter*, München, 1878.

[2] "Mas enapres 8 cent anz de Costantin se leve un lo propi nom del cal era Piero." MS. of Cambridge, mentioned by TODD and quoted by MELIA. The same occurs in Latin in the MS. of Strasb., ap. *Niedner Zeitsch.*, ib. p. 239.

[3] "Dicunt . . . quod ecclesia romana non est ecclesia Jesu Christi . . . Item dicunt quod ecclesia romana est ecclesia malignantium et bestia et meretrix, quae leguntur in Apocalypsi . . . Item quod ecclesia Christi permansit in episcopis et aliis praelatis usque ad B. Silvestrum, et in eo defecit quousque ipsi eam restaurarunt . . . Tamen dicunt quod semper fuerunt aliqui qui Deum timebant et salvabantur." — RAINERIUS SACCO.

[4] "Dicunt se Apostolorum successores." — DAVID OF AUGSBURG.

faith, but of origin;[1] and the evidence of its effect was such as to modify the traditions of the fathers.[2]

The Reformation, thanks to the influence which it exercised upon the Waldensians, silenced in them the rising pretensions in favor of the exclusive authority of the

[1] "Aliqui enim dicunt quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri, aliqui a tempore Apostolorum." — PSEUDO-RAINERIUS, comp. with MS. entit. *Historia breve e verà degl' affari de' Valdesi*, ap. HAHN, *Gesch. d. Wald.*, pp. 135, 136.

[2] According to popular stories, the Waldensians, called Poor of Lyons, or Leonists, finally became followers of a mythical personage contemporaneous with Sylvester, and who is sometimes called Leo and sometimes Peter Waldo. "Qui pro suae missionis initio dicunt quod socius Silvestri, tempore Constantini, noluit consentire quod ecclesia Constantini ditaretur; et ex hoc a Silvestro recessit, viam paupertatis tenendo: apud quem etiam, suis adhaerentibus in paupertate degentibus, Ecclesia permansit . . . Mentiuntur quod ex tempore Silvestri Papae secta eorum duraverit." — PILICHDORF, *Contra haeresin Waldensium*, ap. *Bibl. Max.*, Vol. XXV. Cfr. *Origo Waldensium et processus contra eos facti*, MS. of Trinity College, Cl. C. Tab. 1, n. 6, Dublin. "A Leone quodam viro religiosissimo, initium sumpsisse fabulantur, qui, execrata Silvestri romanae urbis tunc Pontificis avaritia et Constantini ipsius immoderata largitione, paupertatem in fidei simplicitate sequi maluit quam cum Silvestri pingui opulentoque sacerdotio contaminari. Cui cum omnes qui de christiana religione recte sentiebant adhaesissent, sub Apostolorum regula viventes, hanc per manus ad posteros verae religionis normam transmiserunt. Quo sane commento quid potest esse fabulosius? . . . Genealogias quasdam confingunt illius s. Leonis, qui nunquam fuit." — CL. OF SEYSSEL, *Disp. adv. errores et sectam Valdensium*, 1520. "Narrant quoque de rebus suis, originem esse a Petro Waldensi, quem fuisse socium Sylvestri affirmant, qui cum ditaretur a Constantino inimicus factus est Petro sibi non consentienti." — Cf. CORRADO IUSTINGER, *Chron.*, an. 1420, ap. *Rom. Wald.* p. 401. These last words refer to the Waldensians of Moravia. V. *Summa*, etc., an. 1556, ap. IAROSLAV GOLL, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*, Prague, 1878, *Beilagen*, letter L. Cf. also *Memoirs of Morel*, MS. of Dublin.

Sacred Scriptures. But subsequently, some of its apologists noticed them with polemic purpose, anxious to oppose them to those of the Romish Church.[1] Finally, the churches of France decreed to revise them, and to give to the press a history of the Waldensians. This having come to the knowledge of the Pastors of the Valleys, they intrusted to one of their Seniors, Dominique Vignaux by name, the charge of putting together the original documents inherited from the Fathers, to be transmitted where necessary.[2] Thus they came into the hands of Perrin, first historian of the Waldensians,[3] who, having examined them, confirmed that which had been advanced from the beginning, viz., that they originated from Peter Waldo of Lyons.[4] Indeed, this first effort was not very satisfactory, at least to the Pastors of the

[1] So did, for instance, ECOLAMPADE and BEZA, then MATH. FLAC. ILL., *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. On this subject, a few words of Maclaine in his notes of Mosheim, are very characteristic: —

"When the Papists ask us *where our religion was before* Luther, we generally answer: *In the Bible*, and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this answer: *And in the Valleys of Piedmont.*" V. edit. of London, 1806, vol. iii. p. 123, on the margin.

[2] Among those memoirs were those compiled some twenty years before by Jerome Miol, pastor of Angrogna, and translated in French by the same Vignaux. V. GILLES, *Hist. eccl. des églises réformées recueillies en quelques valées de Piedmont et circonvoisines, autrefois appelées églises Vaudoises*, Genève, 1644, chap. 51.

[3] *Hist. des Vaudois*, Genève, 1618. Cf. MAITLAND, *British Mag.*, dec. 1840, ap. TODD.

[4] "Reschappés de Lyon, lesquels de Valdo furent appellés Vaudois. Valdo commença à enseigner les peuples lesquels de son nom furent appelés Vaudois. Il est tenu pour très-certain entr'eux (i.e., among the Wald. of Piedmont), qu'ils sont partis des Vaudois du Dauphiné." — *Op. cit.*, part i. pp. 5, 64, 150.

Valleys. Among these was Gillio, who was induced to work at a second history of the Waldensians.[1] He devoted himself to it in earnest, and received praise which still endures. Now, where he speaks of origin, we do not see that he departs from the primitive tradition; only he holds that the fugitive Waldensians found in the Valleys favorable surroundings. One there was who went out from the beaten path, to flutter upon the wings of fantasy, in the field of legends, that Léger, who inspired a generation of writers who not only ruled Waldensian literature,[2] but had repeaters abroad, especially among English-speaking fellow-believers.[3] Now it languishes under the lash of criticism which it partly called upon itself,[4] and the true traditions of this history (which can well be compared to the Nile, not only because it is beneficial in its course, but also because of the darkness in which it has been enveloped for centuries) come again to light.

[1] This is the work he wrote by order of the Synod of Pramol (Sept. 15, 1620), first in Italian, — "en nostre langue commune italienne, comme on m'avait ordonné au commencement," — then in French, because of circumstances not to be referred to here. V. the *Epistre* of the Preface.

[2] Of PERRIN, LEGER, &c., Reuss says, that they "font encore aujourd'hui les frais du savoir de leurs successeurs," who truly are many, from BREZZI to PEYRAN, and even down to MEYTRE and GERMANET, intent on rehashing in their new assertions arguments of no value, instead of following the footsteps of new investigators. — *Rev. de Théol. et de Phil.*, ii. p. 326.

[3] From Sir MORLAND to GILLY, WORKSFOLD, &c. Even from other countries we have seen them spring up; for instance, HAHN, in Germany.

[4] The German historians, from NEANDER to HASE, cared nothing about the stories of the Léger school; others rose to contradict them with new investigations: viz., KARL SCHMIDT, DIECKHOFF, HERZOG, REUSS, CUNITZ, and PREGER; in Great Britain, BRADSHAW, TODD, MELIA, etc.

With this introduction, we now begin our narrative, which must first be about Peter Waldo.[1]

Peter was born[2] not far from Lyons, in Dauphiné. It is not evident whether he received his name (not a rare one at that time[3]) from his family or his native place.[4] He went to Lyons about the middle of the twelfth century, and there resided for many years.[5] He engaged in

[1] Besides the sources already mentioned, see B. TRON'S monography, *Pierre Valdo et les pauvres de Lyon*, Pignerol, 1879. It has been translated in Italian by B. PONS, and published by the Claudian Press, Florence.

[2] The name of Peter is found for the first time in the mentioned MS. of Strasburg, then by PILICHDORF. Cf. HERZOG and PREGER.

[3] "Quidam e regione Waldis Petrus nominatus. . . In civitate Walden, quae in finibus Franciae sita est." — PILICHDORF, *op. cit.* "El era d'una region dicta Vaudia." — *Waldensian MS. of Cambridge.* "Natus in vico qui, primo nomine postea mutato, dictus est Vaudia." — IOH. MASS., ap. FABER. Strenuous efforts have been made to have the name of Valdo derive from Valley, or to make the word Waldensians signify inhabitants of the valleys. Gilly, in order to succeed in this, invented the word *vallesi* (which is not Italian), to mean inhabitants of the valleys. Other strange and inconclusive expressions are still quoted upon this subject by BERN. FONT. CAL., by EBER. BET., etc. See particularly HERZOG, *Die Rom. Wald.*, pp. 115, 116, 422; Cf. DURANDI on WALDA, in his *Piem. Trasp.*, chap. i.; besides TODD, *The Books of the Vaudois*, pp. 127 and 178; MAITLAND, *Facts*, etc., London, 1862, p. 108; CHARVAZ, *Recherches*, etc., chap. v.; REUSS, *Rev. de Théol et Phil.*, vol. ii. p. 331; MELIA, p. 15.

[4] V. MUSTON, *Isr. des Alpes*, vol. i. p. xxxiii. on the margin; HEBER, *Waldo Kaisers K. d. G. geist. Rath und die älteren Waldenser*, Basel, 1858.

[5] "In loco dicto vulgariter *Val Grant* moram faciente." — *Origo Valdensium*, anonymous author, MS. of Cambridge, ap. MORLAND and ALLIX. "He had his dwelling-house in Lyons near the church of S. Nizier, in a street which, after his expulsion, was called *Rue Maudite*, till the fourteenth century, when it was named *Rue Vendrant*." — MELIA, *Origin*, p. 2, on margin. Cf. with GUY ALLARD, CHORIER, PARADIN.

business, and became rich, but found that "a man's life consisteth not of the things which he possesseth."[1] One day, while conversing with some friends, one of them, stricken by sudden disease, fell lifeless at his feet.[2] This sight made Peter very thoughtful. "If death had taken me, what would now be my destiny?" He was still revolving this grave question in his mind, when, one Sunday walking in the streets of Lyons, he saw people crowding around a troubadour, who was just then reciting, in sad accents, the death of St. Alexis.[3] He drew near him, heard him, and was deeply affected; longing to hear him again, he invited him to his house.[4] Nothing else is known of this troubadour, except that he left our merchant more restless than before, and anxious for peace; so much so that during the following night he resolved to consult a spiritual adviser. The next day he went to a theologian, who endeavored to show him that there were many ways that lead to heaven. But pressing him with the question, "Which is the most perfect and secure?" he answered: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast and give to the poor."[5] And saying this he pointed

[1] "Multas sibi pecunias coacervaverat." — *Chron. Laud.* ap. BOUQUET. Cf. Luke xii. 15.

[2] "Cum cives majores pariter essent in Lugduno, contigit quidam ex eis mori subito coram eis." — RAINERIUS. This story is told in different ways. V. MS., *Origo Valdensium* ap. HAHN, ib. p. 249, and DE RUBEIS, *Hist. de Lyon*, quoted by Melia.

[3] "Is quadam die Dominica cum declinasset ad turbam quam ante joculatorem viderat congregatam, ex verbis ipsius compunctus fuit. Fuit enim locus narrationis ejus qualiter beatus Alexis in domo patris sui beato quievit." — *Chron. Laud.* Cf. RAYNOUARD, *Lexique roman*, vol. i. p. 375.

[4] "Eum ad domum suum deducens, intense eum audire curavit." — IB.

[5] "Facto mane . . ad scholas Theologiae consilium anima sua quaesiturus properavit; et de multis modis eundi ad Deum edoctus, quae-

to the Gospel, which from that day Peter never had out of his sight. At this he was not troubled; but he joyfully began to divide his property between his wife[1] and his creditors,[2] without defrauding his two daughters,[3] not forgetting the poor, for whom there still remained an ample portion.[4] Famine was a chronic evil of that period: it was then raging terribly at Lyons, as well as elsewhere.[5] It is said, that beginning at Pentecost, for three days of every week he distributed bread and provisions to whosoever came to him to be fed. Thus he continued until a little before the Feast of the Assumption.[6] On that day, out on the squares, Peter distributed much money, crying: "No one can serve two masters, God and Mammon."[7] Many crowded about him; and it was whispered about that the good man was out of his

sivit a magistro, qua via aliis omnibus certior esset atque perfectior. Cui Magister dominicam sententiam proposuit: *Si vis esse perfectus vade et vende omnia quae habes.*" — IB. and *Gospel of St. Matthew*, xix. Cf. POLICHDORF.

[1] "Ad uxorem veniens dedit ei optionem ut sibi mobilia vel immobilia omnium quae habebat in terris et aquis, nemoribus et pratis, in domibus, redditibus, vineis, nec non in molendinis et furnis, eligeret retinendum: quae licet multum contristata, quia id facere oportuit, immobilibus hoesit." — IB.

[2] "Is vero de mobilibus, iis a quibus injustè habuerat, reddidit." — IB.

[3] Magnam vero partem pecuniae suis duabus parvulis filiabus contulit, quas, matre earum ignorante, Ordini Fontis-Evraldi mancipavit." — IB. About that convent, v. TRON, op. cit.

[4] "Maximam vero partem in usus pauperum expendit." — IB.

[5] "Fames enim permaxima tunc grassabatur." — IB.

[6] "Per tres dies in hebdomada a Pentecoste usque ad Vincula S. Petri cunctis ad eum venientibus panem et pulmentum cum carnibus largiebatur." — IB.

[7] "In Assumptione B. Mariae Virginis quandam summam pecuniae per vicos inter pauperes spargens, clamabat: *Nemo potest*, etc." — IB. Cfr. *Matt.* vi. 24.

mind,[1] when he, taking a stand whence he could he heard, said: —

"Citizens and friends, I am not mad, as you imagine; but I am avenging myself on my enemies, who had reduced me to such a state of servitude as to make me more mindful of them than of God, and serve the creature rather than the Creator. I know that not a few will blame me for doing these things publicly; but I am urged to this for my own good and yours; for myself, that if hereafter any one should see me with money, he may say that I have gone mad; for you also, that you may learn to put your trust in God, and not in riches." [2]

The next day he went to church. On his return he fell in with an old friend whom he asked for something to eat, and who received him at his house, and comforted him with the most friendly promises.[3] This strange occurrence having come to the knowledge of his wife, she, ashamed and almost demented, ran to the archbishop, who incontinently bade both Peter and his host to appear before him.[4] When she saw her husband she laid hold of him,

[1] "Tunc accurrentes cives arbitrati sunt eum sensum perdidisse." — IB.

[2] "Ascendens in loco eminentiori, ait: O cives et amici mei! non enim insanio sicut vos putatis, sed ultus sum de his hostibus meis qui me fecerunt sibi servum, ut semper plus essem solicitus de nummo quam de Deo, et plus serviebam creaturae quam creatori. Scio quod me reprehendunt plurimi quod hoc in manifesto feci; sed propter me ipsum et propter vos hoc egi: propter me, ut dicant, qui me viderint possidere deinceps pecuniam, me amentem esse; sed et propter vos hoc feci in parte, ut discatis in Deo spem ponere et non in divitiis sperare." — IB.

[3] "Sequenti vero die, rediens de Ecclesia, a quodam cive quondam socio suo petiit dari sibi ad manducandum pro Deo. Ille ad hospitium suum deducens, ait: Ego, quoad vixero, concedo vobis necessaria." — IB.

[4] "Non mediocriter contristata, sed velut amens effecta, ad Archie-

and with a voice between anger and tears, said, "Is it not far better that I, rather than those who are not of our household, should do penance for sins by giving alms to you?"[1] And from that day Peter was forbidden to take food anywhere but at his wife's table.[2]

Meanwhile, without formally binding himself, he had shown that he was without fear of consequences, unlike many others, who were quite ready to call themselves poor, so long as they suffered no privation.

Now, it is to be observed that the money which Waldo had set aside for the poor did not serve alone to procure them bread: a portion of it had a still better result, and to this we must give our attention.

The word of Christ, which the theologian had finally shown him, had induced him not only to break the idol in his heart, but also to search the treasures hidden in the Sacred Scriptures.[3] He was not learned; but neither was he so illiterate as to be unable to succeed in this,[4] although he was obliged to read them in Latin. Every day he would find new teachings which so filled his soul with joy,

piscopum urbis cucurrit. . . Tum ex praecepto Praesulis Burgensis hospitem suum secum ad Praesulis praesentiam duxit." — IB.

[1] "Arripiens virum suum per pannos, ait: "Numquid non melius est, o homo, ut ego in te peccata mea elemosynis redimam, quam extranei?" — IB.

[2] "Ex tunc non licuit ei ex praecepto Archiepiscopi in ipsa urbe cum aliis cibum sumere quam cum uxore." — IB.

[3] "Audiens evangelia . . . curiosus intelligere quid dicerent." — STEPH. DE BELL.

[4] "Cum non esset multum literatus." — IB. "Aliquantulum literatus." — RAINERIUS. "Cum esset modicum literatus." — RICC. CLUN., op. cit. "Cum literarum ignarus esset." — GAGUINUS, *Hist. Franc.*, vi. 92, ap. d'ARGENTRE. On the other side, MATT. FLAC. ILL. pretends to have read in old MSS. that Waldo was a very learned man. — V. *Catal. Test. Verit.*, edit. 1562, p. 424. PERRIN and BASNAGE, satisfied with this assertion, repeat it with too much confidence.

that he began to speak of them to his acquaintances.[1] Finally he determined to translate a portion of the Scriptures with the assistance of two churchmen, each of whom was intrusted with a special charge: Stefano d'Ansa was to dictate the translation, and perhaps make the annotations, while Bernardo Ydros was to act as amanuensis.[2] Although many questions relative to the character of this version have not been solved,[3] it certainly was not insignificant, either in itself or as a sign of the times. On the contrary, this proved the powerful as well as indispensable lever of the new re-action,[4] and its first effects were already noticeable in Waldo. This word gained power and authority: it became the hammer that breaks the hearts hardened by error. It may well be said that he had a school; for his hearers, even the women, were also witnesses to the things to which they listened, and they spoke of them. Zeal increased, and propagated itself, but without confusion, because Waldo directed, being always

[1] "Pauperes qui ad eum confluxerunt docuit N. T. textum vulgariter." — RAIN., ib.

[2] "Bernardus Ydros qui cum esset juvenis et scriptor, scripsit dicto Waldensi priores libros pro pecunia in Romano quos ipsi habuerunt, transferente et dictante ei quodam grammatico dicto Stephano de Ansa. . . Quidam dives rebus in dicta urbe dictus Waldensis . . . fecit pactum dictis sacerdotibus, alteri ut transferret ei in vulgari, alteri ut scriberet quae ille dictaret: quod fecerunt. Similiter multos libros bibliae et auctoritates sanctorum multas per titulos congregatas quas sententias appellebant." — STEPH. DE BELL.

[3] Whoever trusts the easy conclusions of GILLY in his *Introduction to the Romaunt Version of the Gospel according to St. John*, London, 1848, will do well to compare them with REUSS, *Fragments relatifs à la Bible française*, where he treats of the versions of Waldensians and Cathari. V. *Rev. de Théol. et Phil.*, an. 1851–53.

[4] "Convien ricordare che il punto di partenza della setta valdese fu lo studio della Bibbia." So says PERRONE, *I Valdesi Primitivi* ex., chap. vii.

inspired by the Sacred Scriptures. While his disciples went to preach the gospel in the surrounding country,[1] he generally remained in the city, and was soon assisted by able coadjutors;[2] so, when the word of God was silent in the churches, it was heard on the squares and in the houses, as in the time of the apostles. Then the clergy became suspicious, censured him, and made him the object of the first abuse, and denounced him at Rome.[3] There the third Lateran Council was about to convene. What will Peter do? He went there, and fearlessly rose in the presence of Alexander III.[4] to defend his cause, and claim for himself and his followers the sanction of their every right, especially that of preaching. The Pope received him with kindness and words of praise:[5] he even gave

[1] "Officium Apostolorum usurpavit et praesumpsit; Evangelia et ea quae corde retinuerat per vicos et plateas praedicando, multos homines et mulieres ad idem faciendum ad se convocando, firmans eis Evangelia. Quos etiam per villas circumjacentes mittebat ad praedicandum vilissimorum quorumcumque officiorum. Qui etiam tam homines quam mulieres idiotae et illiterati per villas discurrentes et domos penetrantes et in plateis praedicantes et etiam in Ecclesiis, ad idem alios provocabant. — STEPH. DE BELL. Cf. RICC. OF CLUNI.

[2] "Inter quos quidam se predicto Petro adiunxit, qui dictus erat Iohannes de Lugduno, a quo etiam postea sectarii vocabantur pauperes de Lugduno." — MONETA ap. PREGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier*, p. 19. Cfr. with what is further read there concerning a certain Viveto, a colleague of Waldo, pp. 19 and 58.

[3] It is said that in 1176 he was already condemned in a council presided over by Guilbert, bishop of Lyons. V. MS. entitled *Histoire Véritable des Vaudois*, p. 9, ap. Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Turin, No. 169.

[4] "Pres la via de pavreta e prediche e fe disciples, e intra en la cipta de Roma." — *MS. of Cambridge*, ap. MELIA.

[5] "Anno Domini 1178 — more exactly in January, 1179 — Concilium Lateranense a Papa Alexandro hujus nominis tertio celebratur. . . Valdesium amplexatus est Papa, approbans votum quod fecerat voluntariae paupertatis." — *Chron. Laud.*

way to his pretensions to preaching, on condition that he would not depart from the doctrine of the holy fathers.[1] Here we are induced to think that he had the favor of some cardinal.[2] But, after all, he obtained nothing for his followers. At last he left Rome, and in it how many delusions! But the divine word, notwithstanding opposition, had left there some fruit;[3] so that he felt encouraged to continue to proclaim it while passing through our provinces, where he saw the first tokens of a large harvest reserved for the near future.[4] Having returned to Lyons in the midst of his disciples, he had now the proof that "since the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."[5] He did not at all give up his claims upon the recognition of the rights hitherto denied his fellow-believers. Perhaps he had left some of them at Rome: if not, he selected them, and sent them there (the council being then in session), with directions to plead their cause, being provided with an authentic copy of the Waldensian version of the Sacred Scriptures, together with the notes gleaned from the works of the Holy Fathers. They then

[1] "Vos venistis a Valdesio. Dicatis unde ipse venit. Constat, quod non nisi a Papa Romanae Ecclesiae. . . Si autem dicat, quod non sit a Papa: ad quid ergo venit ad Papam, et promisit servare IV Doctores scilicet Ambrosium, Augustinum, Gregorium et Hieronymum, et sic accepit a Papa praedicationis officium? Cujus rei testimonium facile potest inveniri." — MONETA, op. cit., vol. v., chap. I.

[2] "E disputa devant laresiarcha de la fe e de la religion. Mas en aquel temp era aqui un cardenal de Pulha lo cal era amic de lui e laudava la via de lui e la parolla, e amava lui." — *MS. cit.*

[3] "Nent de ment el meseyme predicant en la cipta fey plusors disciples." — *MS. cit.*

[4] "E facent camin per las regions da Ytalia fe aiostament enayci que en plusors part nintreron moti en la lor conversacion, tant el meseyme tant li sucessor de lui, e foron forment multiplica." — IB.

[5] 1 Cor. I. 21.

appeared before the Pope.[1] But he left to others the care of hearing them, and perhaps that also of reporting to the council concerning this matter which still divided men's minds.[2] They were admitted to a discussion, not only pedantic[3] but ridiculous and interrupted by coarse laughter.[4] Soon after not only they, but even their master, were forbidden to preach, except by request of the priests.[5] Finally they withdrew, already being feared

[1] "Vidimus in concilio Romano sub Alexandro Papa III. celebrato Valdesios homines idiotas illiteratos (a primate ipsorum Valde dictos qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum): qui librum domino Papae praesentaverunt lingua conscriptum Gallica, in quo textus et glossa Psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebatur. Hi multa petebant instantia, praedicationis authoritatem sibi *confirmari:* quia periti sibi videbantur cum vix essent scioli." — MAPEUS, quoted by USSERIUS.

[2] "Ego multorum millium qui vocati fuerunt minimus, deridebam eos, quod super eorum petitione tractatus fieret vel dubitatio: vocatusque a quodam magno pontifice cui etiam ille maximus Papa confessionum curam injunxerat, conjeci signum ad sagittam. Multisque legis peritis et prudentibus ascitis, deducti sunt ad me duo Valdesii qui sua videbantur in secta praecipui, disputaturi mecum de fide; non amore veritatis inquirendae, sed ut, me convicto, clauderetur os meum quasi loquentis iniqua. Timidus, fateor, sedi, ne peccatis exigentibus, in concilio mihi tanto gratia negaretur sermonis. Jussit me pontifex experiri adversus eos qui respondere parabam." — IB.

[3] "Primo igitur proposui levissima quae nemici licet ignorare. . . Creditis in Deum Patrem? Responderunt: credimus. Et in Filium? Responderunt: credimus. Et in Spiritum Sanctum? Responderunt: credimus. Iteravi: in matrem Cristi? Et illi item: credimus." — IB. It is known that scholastic theology admits the expression *credere in* only in reference to the Trinity. It would have been of little account if our Waldensians had ignored the Sacred Scriptures, but the grammar of theology! The Pharisees are always the same: "They strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel." — *Gosp. of St. Matt.* xxiii. 24.

[4] "Ab omnibus multiplici sunt clamore derisi." — IB.

[5] "Inhibens eidem ne vel ipse aut socii sui praedicationis officium

by their own judges,[1] who thus far had admonished and perhaps condemned them, but had not yet excommunicated them.[2]

The crisis, decisive and solemn, had now arrived for the Waldensians. Their enemies were deceived,[3] because their faith retired within itself in the silence of meditation and of quiet meetings.[4] But soon it burst forth, conscious

praesumerent, nisi rogantibus sacerdotibus." — *Chron. Laud.* "A la perfin receop respost en la cort que la gleysa romana non poya portar la parolla de lui." — *MS. cit.*

[1] "Confusi recesserunt et merito . . . si quos admiserimus expellemur." — MAPEUS, ib.

[2] It is true that the third Lateran Council condemned all heresies in general, as says the chronicle of Lyons, "damnaverit hoc concilium haereses et omnes haereticorum fautores, nec non et defensores." And this is taken from the Acts of the same council. But neither Waldo nor the Waldensians were as yet considered as heretics. STEPHANUS DE BELLAVILLA, who lived in Lyons, and was acquainted with Stephanus de Ansa — "quem ego vidi sæpe" — wrote: "Ad concilium quod fuit Romæ *ante Lateranense* vocati et pertinaces, fuerunt schismatici *postea* judicati." — Cf. RICC. CLUN. . . And the MS. of Cambridge: "E dona a si sententia." Now, according to our opinion, this sentence did not imply excommunication, except in case of continued disobedience. For the chroniclers of the thirteenth century, which was this council *ante Lateranense?* Gieseler answers: "It is the council prior to the IV. Lateran, A. D. 1215; hence, that of the year 1179." Neither can it be otherwise, whatever DIECKHOFF may say, — indeed very ingenuously in his book *Die Waldenser*, p. 343, and the following, — who finds here a council held in Rome about 1210, and holds that where MAPEUS writes *Alexandro* we should read *Innocentio.* The confusion between the Cathari and the Waldensians, which is sought for in the Acts of this Council, is, after all, of no evidence. The inscriptions imagined by BUXHORN are not worthy of the respectful mention of BLAIR (*Hist. of the Wald.*, i. 265), or of TRON (op. cit., p. 96).

[3] "Quod preceptum modico tempore observaverunt." — *Chron. Laud.*

[4] "Occulte saltem praedicabant." — PILICHDORF, *l. c.*

in itself and determined. And what? they said unanimously, did not Christ command his disciples to preach the gospel to every creature?[1] If we preach Christ, should not the bishops and priests be the first to rejoice?[2] Hence they should not hinder us;[3] and if they try to do so, what moves them if it be not jealousy?[4] If necessary, we will face their anger and persecution. Is not this the destiny of every follower of Christ?[5] So saying, they began again to proclaim with all boldness the word of salvation. Then it appeared that the same oppositions which marked the birth of the apostolic Church at Jerusalem were repeated at Lyons. So true is this, that the history alluded to could be applied almost literally in this case.

The rulers and the scribes then having gathered together, they conferred among themselves, saying, "What shall we do to these men? Let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in the name of Christ."[6] And having called them, they commanded them not to speak at all nor teach.[7] But Peter and the others, answering,

[1] "Dominus quippe praecepit discipulis dicens: *Euntes in mundum universum, praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae.*" — BERN. FONT. CAL.

[2] "Cur Episcopi non gaudent quando a nobis Christus praedicatur?" — IB.

[3] "Si Christi nomen praedicamus, quamvis non sequamur Episcopos et alios sacerdotes, non tamen debent nos prohibere." — IB.

[4] "Dicentes clericos hoc facere per invidiam, quia viderent eos meliores se esse, et melius docere, et majorem ex hoc favorem populi habere." — DAV. AUGSB. "Ipsi noluerunt obedire quasi hoc Romana Curia ex invidia prohiberet." — PILICHDORF.

[5] "Non est mirum, si clerus nos persequatur. Scriptum est enim: *Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo, persecutione patientur.*" — EBER BET.

[6] Acts iv. 5, 15, 16.

[7] "Vocati ab episcopo Lugdunensi, qui Ioannes vocabatur, prohibuit eis ne intromitterent se de Scripturis exponendis vel praedicandis." — STEPH. DE BELL. Cfr. Acts iv. 17.

said, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." [1]

Then they were expelled from the synagogue.[2]

But the apostolic zeal of the Waldensians, instead of diminishing, was stimulated by persecution. The clergy was frightened, and raised a cry of alarm. Lucius III. heard it, and called a council at Verona in the presence of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. This time the Waldensians were solemnly excommunicated.[3]

Although this was not a final sentence, it is but too true that it had the most injurious consequences; though gradual, perhaps because the number of the excommunicated had grown to such an extent as to necessitate the secret and laborious work of the rising Inquisition.[4] Indeed, they were not immediately considered as open ene-

[1] "Ipsi autem recurrentes responsionem Apostolorum et magister eorum usurpans Petri officium, sicut ipse respondit principibus sacerdotum, ait: Obedire oportet magis Deo quam hominibus, qui praeceperat apostolis praedicare Evangelium omni creaturae." — IB. "Sed inquiunt: Obedimus Deo, sequentes Petrum, qui dixit: *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.*" — BERN. FONT. CAL. Cfr. Acts iv. 19–21; 1, v. 29.

[2] "Fo fayt fora la sinagoga." — *MS. of Cambridge.*

[3] An. 1183–84. "Omnem haeresim, quocumque nomine censeatur . . . condemnamus. In primis ergo Catharos et Patharinos et eos qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Lugduno, falso nomine, mentiuntur, Passaginos, Iosepinos, Arnaldistas perpetuo decernimus anathemati subjacere. Et quoniam nonnulli, sub specie pietatis, virtutem ejus, juxta quod ait Apostolus dicat: Quomodo praedicabunt nisi mittantur? omnes qui, vel prohibiti, vel non missi, praeter auctoritatem ab apostolica sede, vel episcopo loci susceptam, publice vel privatim praedicare praesumpserint . . . pari vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus." — *Decretum* ap. D. D'ARGENTRÉ.

[4] See the end of that *Decretum.*

mies.[1] A proof of this is the fact that they were admitted to discussion, now against the Cathari, with the good-will of the clergy that assumes authority and exhibits ignorance;[2] now to defend themselves in public debates opened even by archbishops, who hoped to lead them back under the clerical yoke, or to build a barrier against the torrent of their proselytism, as it happened in the city of Narbonne.[3] So their influence continued to extend; and the more persecution raged in Lyons and behind them, the more were they scattered, multiplying at the same time, as had also

[1] "Quamvis enim contra fidem multa doceant, tamen quaedam bona permiscent. . . In aliis non dissentitis, hostes estis tanquam domestici." — EBER. "Hi quidem mali erant, sed comparatione aliorum haereticorum longe minus perversi. In multis enim nobiscum conveniebant, in aliquibus dissentiebant." — WALTER VAL. CERN.

[2] "Et illi quidem Waldenses contra alios acutissime disputabant, unde et in eorum odium alii admittebantur a sacerdotibus idiotis." — GUIL. DE PODIO LAUR., *in praef.*

[3] About 1190. — "Ea propter, — i.e., because the Waldensians, after the sentence of Lucius III., did not cease to spread their doctrines, — contra eos pro Ecclesia Dei dominus Bernardus Narbonensis Archiepiscopus, 1181–91, se fortem murum opposuit. Ascitis itaque pluribus tam Clericis quam Laicis, Religiosis ac Saecularibus, ad judicium vocavit. Quid plura? Causa diligentissime investigata condemnati sunt. Nihilominus tamen postea, et clam et publice, semen suae nequitiae spargere ausi sunt. Unde rursum, quamvis ex abundanti ad disceptationem vocati sunt per quosdam tam Clericos quam Laicos: et, ne lis diutius protraheretur, electus est ab utraque parte judex, quidam sacerdos, Raimundus scilicet de Daventria, vir siquidem religiosus ac timens Deum, nobilis genere, sed conversatione nobilior. Assignata igitur die causae adveniente, congregatis invicem partibus, aliisque quam plurimis Clericis et Laicis, de quibusdam capitulis, in quibus male sentiebant, a veris Catholicis accusati sunt: eisque per singula respondentibus hinc inde diu disputatum est, et ab utraque parte multae productae auctoritates. Auditis igitur partium allegationibus praefatus judex per scriptum definitivam dedit sententiam, et haereticos esse in capitulis, de quibus accusati fuerant, pronunciavit." — BERN. FONT. CAL.

been true of the first Christians.[1] It is natural that where the Cathari, Henry Italicus, surnamed of Lausanne, and Peter of Bruys had already prepared the way, and where the breach or the doors were open wide, our Waldensians should hasten and rush; and that, still holding fast their own belief, they should bind themselves with dissenters more or less secretly,[2] to resist the wolf that hunted them,

"Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria"

not to distinguish the goats from the lambs; nay, more! not even her young, when an opportunity was offered to satisfy her thirst for blood.[3] At first they pitched their tents in Dauphiné, whence they went to Provence, to Languedoc, and other provinces of the South of France then subject to the kings of Aragon, where they settled and multiplied, notwithstanding the barbarous decrees issued by the odious satellites of the Inquisition.[4] Others, cross-

[1] *Acts of the Apostles*, viii. 2.

[2] They are usually compared to the little foxes which destroy the vineyard of the Lord: "Species quidem habentes diversas, sed caudas ad invicem colligatas," an expression which occurs in several epistles of Innocent III., as also in others of his successors, Greg. IX. and Innocent IV.

[3] To give only one example, when the Crusaders came later on, and the city of Béziers fell into their hands, one of them, turning to the nuncio Arnaldo, said, "Quid faciemus? Non possumus discernere inter bonos viros et malos." And the nuncio, "Caedite eos; novit enim Dominus, qui sunt ejus." — HEISTERBACH, lib. v., cap. 21. Words that agree with those which the same nuncio wrote in his report to the Pontiff. — *Ep. Inn. III.*, lib. xii. 108.

[4] "Jure canonibus obtemperantes . . . Waldenses sive Insabbatatos, qui alio nomine se vocant Pauperes de Lugduno . . . tanquam inimicos crucis Christi christianaeque religionis violatores, nostros et regni publicos hostes, exire ac fugere praecipimus." — *Edictum Alphonsi*, an. 1192, repeated by Don Pedro an. 1194 and 1197, ap. D. D'ARGENTRÉ, vol. i.

ing the Alps or passing along the seacoast, entered some of the valleys of Piedmont into Lombardy, and perhaps even the States of Naples and Sicily; or they pressed on towards the West; but, being soon compelled to fold their tents,[1] they strengthened the ranks of emigrants to those parts of Aquitaine, Guienne, and Gascony still under English jurisdiction, which, though lacking in that sort of sympathy that imparts confidence, allowed a band of sturdy men to land on the British shore, and formed a little colony in County Kent, where they were welcomed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] Finally in another direction we find unmistakable and lasting traces of exiles who reached Metz,[3] the Netherlands, Flanders, and Picardy,[4] and wandered across the Rhine into Bohemia near the Moravian Brothers, around whom are gathered a great portion of later traditions.[5]

Now what becomes of Waldo in the midst of this tumult of emigration? One is sensible of the fact that he is the soul of it, and that there must be some truth in the reports which multiply, so to speak, his presence.[6] But

[1] "De haereticis autem, qui vocantur Wadoys . . . praecipimus ut quicunque eos invenerint, vinculis astrictos teneant, et ad sedem Tullensem puniendos adducant." — *Stat. Syn. Odon.*, an. 1192, ib.

[2] BLAIR, op. cit., l., ii., c., vii. at the end.

[3] "In urbe Metensi pullulante secta quae dicitur Valdensium, directi sunt quidam Abbates ad praedicandum, qui quosdam libros de Latino in Romanum versos combusserunt et praedictam sectam extirpaverunt." — *Chron. Alberici*, an. 1200. Cfr. HEISTERBACH, op. cit., lib. v., cap. 20; INN. III., *Ep.*, l. ii., 141 and 142, and *Decr. Greg.*, l. v. t. 7, c. 12.

[4] BLAIR, op. cit., l. ii., c. iv.

[5] V. HERZOG. *Rom. Wald.*, *l.* iii.; ZEZSCHWITZ, *Die Katech. d. Wald. a. Böhm. Brüder*, pp. 134–180, and art. *Böhm. Brüder* in the *Real-Encyc.*, 2d ed.; PALACKY, *Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Secten in Böhmen*, Prague. 1869; GOLL., op. cit.; cfr. PREGER, *Beiträge*, etc.

[6] BLAIR, ib., note on margin.

traces of him are soon lost in exile, and we are ignorant even of the date of his death,[1] which is said to have taken place in Bohemia.[2] Nevertheless, his name was held in such veneration by his followers, that it occasioned a re-action, of which the Waldensians of Italy, more independent than their brethren of the other side of the Alps, have not ceased to boast; perhaps because this boast was united for ages with the prejudice which divides the common origin.[3]

Now it is time that we should follow the footsteps of those with whom our history exclusively deals.

They descended, as has already been mentioned, from two principal directions: some from across the Cottian Alps, down into the Waldensian Valleys; others by devious roads to Milan and the district of Lombardy; all intent on finding a refuge, there in the citadel of the ever hospitable Alps, here in the great fortress of re-actions.

It is well known from the time of the Romans, that these Alps had served as bulwarks to a king after whom they were named,[4] and how at the time of Claudius they

[1] It is our opinion that the date generally admitted should be several years later. According to most of the historians, and TRON, it could not even reach the end of the century; but from the way in which the followers of Waldo still speak of his death in the year 1218, it is allowable to infer that it was not so long a time since it had taken place. — V. PREGER, *Beiträge*, &c.

[2] "Valdo se retira en Bohême où il y en a qui tiennent qu'il y finit ses jours." — PERRIN, op. cit., p. 223. "En Bohême . . . il continua le reste de ses jours." — GILLIO, op. cit., p. 7.

[3] PREGER, ib., *Rescriptum*, &c.

[4] "Cottius solus in angustiis latens, inviaque locorum asperitate confisus," says AMM. MARCELLINO, l. xv. Cfr. DURANDI, *Notizia dell' antico Piemonte Traspadano*, Turin, 1803. "*Solus* — here notes Gilly — this word implies that when other chiefs were conquered, Cottius found safety." — *Wald. Researches*, London, 1831.

favored the invasions of the Saracens.[1] It was therefore natural that a defenceless people, fugitive on account of their religion, should also take refuge there to escape death; and this, if we are not mistaken, did also happen at least occasionally.[2] But is this a reason to believe that we see gathered here a population not devotedly Catholic, or Protestant?[3] No indeed, neither according to Vigilantius or Claudius, whatever may be inferred from historians *de bonne volonté;*[4] neither were they Cathari, although it may

[1] We will not infer from this, as CHARVAZ does, that they were occupied by them for more than two centuries, or that our valleys were held during all that time under their dominion. — *Recherches*, &c. chap. xiii.

[2] *Fasti Corb.*, ap. HARENBERG, *Mon-Hist.*, Brunswic, 1728, i, 77. Cf. VIGNIER, *Rec. de l'Hist. de l'Eglise*, Leyde, 1601, p. 268; K. SCHMIDT and GIESELER, B. II., Abt. II., c. VII., § 84 n. f., § 85 n. h. SCHMIDT warns us *privatim* that the *Fasti Corb.* are no longer to be trusted. But other examples of Cathari that had come to those parts are not wanting, as may be seen from the *Processus* relating to the heretics of Chieri, and from the report of Ferreri, ap. RAYNALDUS, *contin. ann. Baronii*, an. 1403, No. XXIV.

[3] According to GILLIO the Waldensians found "les originaires et circonvoisins non esloignés de leurs sentimens et cognoissance quant à la Religion." He alleged erroneously in this respect the testimony of Catholic writers who do not at all agree with his assertion. To-day, without even the shadow of a proof, TRON asserts explicitly that "Les populations primitives des Alpes Cotiennes se trouvèrent à la grande joie des envoyés de Valdo, professer les mêmes principes bibliques." — *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

[4] These historians, moreover, do not care to find here a population of Cathari, for instance: they must have a Waldensian one. NEANDER had already qualified the hypothesis that the Waldensians originated from the re-action of Claudius, as unfounded and erroneous; and SCHMIDT writing to MUSTON defies him to produce a single fact which would prove the priority of the Waldensians to Waldo. MUSTON had supplied to this want by writing that "avec un peu de bonne volonté," we may admit that Claudius had visited the Waldensians, and had obtained from them his own opinions. Such is the spirit of Léger's school, one that has yet adherents.

be admitted that they drew near from various parts of these Alpine abodes, or even penetrated them.[1] One thing cannot be denied, and we believe it sufficient for a right understanding of the historical facts concerning the coming of the Waldensians; that is, that the surroundings of the place towards which they were about to wend their way were favorable, inasmuch as they were fanned by the breath of liberty which reached them, now from the east, now from the west, as from two seas of re-actions.[2] They then formed here the hive, from which soon came a few bees, and later new swarms.[3]

Now, the question is not to fix the year of this immigration, but the epoch, which evidently is included between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, as may be inferred from all historical deductions.[4] These do not in any way

[1] Of these, who were very numerous in the neighboring Lombard regions, let us note these often-quoted words: "Praeterea terram . . . audiebat pollutam esse inveterata haeresi de corpore et sanguine Domini." — *Cronaca di S. Tron, ap. Spicilegium Dacherii*, vol. vii. Cfr. RORENGO and BELVEDERE.

[2] For example, we have an indication of this in the writings of S. Pier Damiano to the Marchioness Adelaide of Susa, concerning her recalcitrant clergy, and also in some Gallo-Italic sermons of that time, lately discovered at Turin, and inserted in the *Romanische Studien*, No. 13, Bonn, 1879.

[3] The idea, that already before, and even for centuries, there was a hive, though no sound came from it, and no honey was to be seen, is a chimerical one. A Christian population lives, its life manifests itself, and it cannot escape observation. It is impossible to explain how this people may have escaped the notice of the chroniclers, and the historians of the diocese of Turin. — V. SEMERIA, *Storia della Chiesa Metropolitana di Torino descritta da' tempi apostolici sino all' an.* 1840, Turin, 1840.

[4] For instance, it is noteworthy that Claude de Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin, who made inquiries about the Waldensians in the year 1517, concludes: "Supra annos ducentos haec haeresis invaluit. . . Valdensis quippe (ut aiunt) appellabatur et Lugdunensis urbis municeps

allow us to go back to an earlier date, as several writers have done.[1] On the contrary, if we were not restrained by the fear of venturing an opinion upon an already much disputed ground, we would say, that, if the Waldensian immigration began before this period, it ended at the time the crusade was decreed against the Albigenses,[2] because then more than ever did the fugitives penetrate farther into the Alps. At all events, at this point is found the first information in regard to them which has come down to us on this side of the Alps, where monks were not wanting to spy them out,[3] nor rulers to subjugate them,[4] nor other

fuit, unde et prima hujus pestis contagio pullulavit." V. *Disp. adv. errores et sectam Valdensium*, Parisiis, 1520; also *La doctrine des Vaudois représentée par Cl. Seyssel archevesque de Turin et Cl. Coussord, théologien de l'Univ. de Paris, avec notes dressées par l'Eglise et Académie de Sédan*, Sédan, 1618. Compare with the Waldensian letters written in 1573 to the Count of Birago, lieutenant of the King of France on this side of the Alps. Here it is true that they say to have been "nés et nourris" in their religion, "laquelle aussi leurs pères ont suivi de tems immémorial;" but somewhat more accurately they add, "qu'il y avait plus de quatre cents et cinquante ans que leur peuple de père en fils jusqu'à eux avoit fait profession de ceste religion et fait exercice public d'icelle desja par longue suite d'années." — V. GILLIO, op. cit., c. 37.

[1] TRON tries to find this date between the years 1185–1199; but this through the glass of an hypothesis, which he himself does not deem well grounded, since he says, "*S'il est vrai*, comme on l'a cru, que Valdo lui-même ait accompagné ses frères." — *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

[2] T. e. an. 1209, by decree of the Pope Innocent III.

[3] There existed for more than a century, right at the *Porte*, — i.e., doors, — of Val Chisone the convent of the Benedictines of the abbey from which Adelaide of Susa had relinquished all sovereignty by a donation dated Sept. 7, 1064, not the year 606, as GILLIO said, op. cit., c. 14, and MUSTON repeated. This donation, however, does not indicate the primitive foundation, which goes back to the first Counts of Moriana. V. *Chron. Hist.* of Mgr. DELLA CHIESA, c. 24. Cfr. CROSET-MOUCHET, *l'Abbaye de Ste.-Marie de Pignerol au bourg de Saint-Véran*, Pignerol, 1845.

[4] On their arrival, they fell under the immediate dominion of the

interested parties to take notice of their presence.[1] Finally they appeared on the summits which overlook the valleys of Angrogna and San Martin, and descended as far as the Porte,[2] occupying the uncultivated localities.[3]

Benedictines of the abbey and of the Count of Luserna. Because his house had for motto *Lux lucet in tenebris*, it was inferred that the light had shone there *ab antico*. V. LÉGER and MONASTIER. Where would we go with such arguments? This and other similar mottoes do not imply any profession of an evangelical faith. For instance, before the Reformation Geneva had for its motto *Post tenebras spero lucem;* and the sequins of Venice had an imprint of the Doge kneeling at the feet of the Redeemer, and this inscription, *Ego sum lux mundi.*

[1] Thus far, none of the investigators — and they were not few — of the religious and civil archives of the district of Pinerolo ever discovered the least and most vague allusion to the evangelical inhabitants of the Valleys, or Waldensians, before this time.

[2] "Se retirèrent en Dauphiné en la Val Pute, et en la Valée d'Angrongne." — DE RUBEIS, quoted by PERRIN, op. cit., l. i., c. s. "Per haec tempora Arduini Praesulis. . . . Valdenses inter Lugdunensis plebis foecem ea acceperunt incrementa, ut eorum numerus, qui octena millia excedebat, eidem urbi suspectus esse incaeperat, proscripti ac ejecti fuere. Ii quo tenderent, quo sedes suas figerent, circumspicientibus opportunae ad id visae Valles ab Adelaida Immillaque sororibus cum Pinarolo Ecclesiae ejusdèm Abbatiae dono datae, quod in monachis haud satìs virium esset ad eos arcendos. Itaque nec opinato in eas tanto furore se inferunt, ut ad Portas ipsas (id est nomen Pago, in quo Romani portam construxerant, quam velut Italiæ januam esse volebant) pervenerint." — V. UGHELLI, *Italia Sacra*, Venice, 1719, vol. iv. col. 1051.

[3] We infer from the act of donation of Adelaide that some remained, although we may also find here the proof that those valleys were not altogether without inhabitants. It agrees well here with what Gillio writes, i.e., that our fugitives found the Valleys "de situation favorable à leur condition, avec assez de terroirs vuides pour leur besoin. Ces Valées n'estoyent pas peuplées par tout avant l'arrivée des fidèles Lyonnois ; car (n'ayant) pas si grand peuple, les originaires habitants n'en cultivoyent guères que les lieux de plus doux air et de plus facile et utile labourage." — *Op. cit.*, c. 2.

It is understood, that, on their arrival, they did not at once and with fanaticism proclaim their opinions, at least in matters of faith: their spiritual guides, perhaps in order to avoid suspicion, called themselves *Barbi.*[1] But soon after they were discovered, feared,[2] and then denounced before the proper authority, the Bishop of Turin. He, believing that persecution was the only means of bringing them into subjection, and that the Benedictines were not able to accomplish this,[3] as he was on his way to the court of the Emperor Otto IV., — who had come down into Italy to be solemnly crowned, — took advantage of this favorable opportunity, and told him that a handful of heretics had penetrated his diocese[4] down from the borders of France, and asked him for help.[5] Otto invested him with full power for the extirpation of all heretics, especially the Waldensians,[6] and at the same time granted new privileges to the

[1] From *barbanus*, which meant uncle, and occurs twice in the mentioned Act of Adelaide. Being derived from the Latin, it is understood that it is a word used also elsewhere, viz., in the Venetian district, as noted by DE BONI, *L'Inquisizione ed i Calabro Valdesi.*

[2] Qua re territi monachi." — UGHELLI, ib.

[3] "In quella Valle non vi furono gentilhuomini ch'opponessero all'introduttione dell'heresie, ma ben i Monaci dell'Abbatia." — RORENGO, *Memorie Hist.*, c. 6.

[4] "Di fresco insinuati," concludes SEMERIA, op. cit., p. 169.

[5] That bishop was Giacomo di Carisio, first Abbot of the Order of Benedictines. He ascended to the episcopal seat of Turin after Arduino, an. 1206, which seat ever comprised in its diocese the Alpine valleys converging to Pinerolo, and for several centuries did not extend beyond the Italian boundaries. V. *Gallia Christiana.* Cf. DURANDI and SEMERIA.

[6] "*Otto Dei Gratiâ Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus dilecto fideli suo Episcopo Taurinensi gratiam suam et bonam voluntatem.* Late patet Dei clementia, qui, pulso infidelitatis errore, veritatem fidei suis fidelibus patefacit. Justus enim ex fide vivit; qui vero non credit, jam judicatus est. Nos igitur qui gratiam fidei in vacuum non recipimus, omnes non recte credentes, qui lumen fidei

diocese of Turin.[1] But because of quarrels he had with the pontiff, the emperor desisted from persecuting them. If this caused the bishop to weep, it was not a subject of mirth at the abbey, as the monks were placed in a bad light before the population of the valley, not only weary of their oppression, but stimulated by the Waldensians, behind whom was perhaps hidden the hostility of some lord of Luserna[2] or Dauphiné.[3] Nevertheless they were compelled to return their feudal rights to the house of Savoy; but it may well be imagined here how well our Waldensians were recommended.[4] The people of Pinerolo greeted with

catholicae haeretica pravitate in imperio nostro conantur extinguere, imperiali volumus severitate puniri, et a consortio fidelium per totum imperium separari: praesertim tibi auctoritate mandantes, quatenus haereticos valdenses et omnes qui in taurinensi diocesi zizaniam seminant falsitatis, et fidem catholicam alicuius erroris seu pravitatis doctrina impugnant, a toto taurinensi episcopatu imperiali auctoritate expellas: licentiam enim, auctoritatem omnimodam et plenam tibi conferimus potestatem, ut per tuae studium solicitudinis taurinensis episcopatus area ventiletur, et omnis pravitas, quae fidei catholicae contradicit, penitus expurgetur." — From the archiepiscopal archives of Turin. V. SEMERIA, pp. 169–70. Cfr. GIOFFREDO, *St. delle Alpi Marittime*, an. 1209.

[1] "Eodem anno (1210) Otho IV. Imp. Taurini aliquot diebus resedit, plurima privilegia ecclesiis concessit, maxime Ripaltae Abbatiae." — UGHELLI, ib.

[2] It is admissible that the lords of Luserna favored some of the Waldensian claims for reasons easily imagined.

[3] It is the opinion of UGHELLI that the Valley of Angrogna was already annexed to the Dauphiné at the request of the Waldensians. "Angroniam . . . jam ab Delphinatus Principe sollicitantibus Valdensibus praeoccupatam." — IB.

[4] "Territi, nec obsistere valentes, re bene perspecta, non tantum valles ipsas, sed et Pinarolum Thomae Comiti Sabaudiae, ejusque successoribus cesserunt, ea lege, *ut hostes non modo suos quam fidei catholicae propulsarent*, et concessa ab eadem ecclesia tamquam illius beneficiarii agnoscerent, omnino tamen loci dominio, qui Abbatiae dicitur, et Vallis Leminae, capitulo reservato." — UGHELLI, ib.

joy the militia of the Count of Moriana, lord of Piedmont, who was then Thomas I.,[1] who, in granting to that little city its first liberties,[2] issued the first decree of persecution against the Waldensians in these words: "We decree that whoever shall knowingly harbor a Waldensian — man or woman — in the district of Pinerolo, shall be condemned to pay for every such offence ten *soldi.*" [3] But Prince Thomas, besides having a truly political and opportunely liberal mind, was engaged in other affairs of a very different nature: it is therefore easily understood why for many years no further mention is made of the Waldensians in the laws of Piedmont.[4] Moreover, these latter were not to be frightened by any such oppressive measures. And the lords of Luserna, who were not yet entirely under the dominion of the prince, anxious to make them friends, boldly demanded as a condition that they should be restored to their rights, and that "freedom of worship be allowed the Waldensians." [5]

[1] Hardly had he pitched his tents that the burghers opened their doors to him, and hailed him *signore*, "con gran disgusto dell' Abbate," as says CIBRARIO, *Mon. di Savoia*, vol. i. p. 263, and seq. of 1st ed. Cf. 2d ed., *Specchio Cronologico*, p. 26.

[2] V. *Statuta . . . a Serenissimis Ducibus Sabaudiae et Principibus Pedemontis et vicinis populis cum civitate Pinarolii*, Turin, 1602. The first book begins thus: "Haec sunt Statuta et ordinamenta facta per Ill.m D. Thomam Comitem et Sapientes currente anno 1220, indictione viii., etc." Cfr. SCLOPIS, *St. dell' ant. legis. del Piemonte*, c. 3.

[3] "Item, Statutum est quod si quis vel si que hospitaretur aliquem vel aliquam Valdensem vel Valdensam se sciente in posse Pinerolii dabit bannum solidorum decem quotiescumque hospitabitur."—*Statuta* ib. VEGEZZI, who reports this decree, calculates that the ten *soldi* were equivalent to about 280 Italian lire. V. *Miscellanea Patria*, vol. cxxii.

[4] VEGEZZI, ib.

[5] So says a MS. of B. L. GAROLA, *Documenti storici di Luserna*

What followed is not very clear: it is certain, however, that those of our exiles who remained upon Italian soil, soon after acknowledged the sovereignty of the house of Savoy;[1] and if they made proselytes, these became Waldensians, but were not so by birth.[2]

Such were the circumstances that attended their immigration into the valleys of Pinerolo.[3] Let us now glance at their brethren, who several years before had penetrated into and distributed themselves through the free cities of Lombardy.

e Valle, 5 *gennaio* 1831, consulted in the Val Pellice by *Gaston de Bez*, who, in answer to our pressing inquiries, wrote in date of Sept. 13, 1878, as follows: —

"Ce MS. à moi prêté par M. Alesan Bastia (et, ou ce manuscript appartient à M. le Comte d'Angrogne, comme je crois me le rappeler, ou, même, serait-il de la possession de M. Alesan Bastia) contient la précieuse mention suivante: 'Les comtes ne se soumirent, l'an. 1233, aux comtes de Savoie qui s'étaient rendus maîtres de Pignerol que *a condizione d'esser mantenuti ne' loro privileggi, libero exercitio del culto a Valdesi, oltre la confermazione senza dubbio delle loro proprietà ed immunità nelle Valli.*'"

[1] "Quæ ita sunt suo sortita effectu, ut viciniorem Vallis partem, quæ Petrosa dicitur, Thomas recuperarit, ipsis hæreticis vel ejectis vel subactis, secus vero ulteriorem, Angroniam dictam." — UGHELLI, ib.

[2] Il MUSTON, in an *Etude sur la Nobla Leiczon* prefixed to his work just again in circulation, comes out with this new confession: "Admettant aujourd'hui que le nom de Vaudois vient de Valdo, sans abandonner l'idée que ceux qui le prirent dans nos montagnes lui étaient antérieurs." — *L'Israël des Alpes*, Paris, 1880. Before the idea, however, facts are necessary; without which *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur.* We are still waiting for MUSTON to produce *at least one*, in answer to the challenge of SCHMIDT.

[3] Cf. with MS. of the *Histoire Véritable*, a few fragments of which are found in the Appendix. Although inspired by Catholic intolerance, it is drawn up with accuracy: therefore we are not displeased to see that in the principal points our narrative agrees with his, written in the days of LÉGER, who had provoked it.

Lombardy, as is well known, was a stronghold of the heretics: not only the Gentile Patareni, perhaps more numerous and stronger; the Arian and Judaistic Pasagini, more isolated and less feared;[1] the Fraticelli, so called Apostolic, and others whom it is not necessary here to mention; but also the Arnaldisti and the Umiliati, who had not absolutely separated from the Church of Rome, and were more akin to our fugitive Waldensians, drew near to them so as to have a common faith and destiny.[2]

It is easy to recognize in the Arnaldisti the followers of the martyr of Brescia, heretofore called Lombardi, and afterwards designated by the name of him who had been, if not their first teacher, certainly their most illustrious representative.[3] They continued to hold, that to have

[1] As they were by some taken for Patareni, by other for Waldensians, it will not be considered out of place to record that, according to BONACCORSO, a competent writer on this matter, they taught "quod Mosaica lex sit ad literam observanda, et quod Sabbatum et circumcisio et aliae legales observantiae adhuc habere statum debeant." Op. cit., and MURATORI says that Gregorio of Bergamo accused them of saying: "Christum esse primam et puram creaturam, et vetus Testamentum esse observandum in solemnibus et in circumcisione et in ciborum perceptione et in aliis fere omnibus, exceptis sacrificiis." For this reason they were also called *circumcisi*, for instance by Frederick II. in a decree of 1224; neither do we doubt that it is to them that Clement IV. and Gregory X. alluded when they ordered the inquisitors to seek "quamplurimos Christianos qui se ad ritum judaicum transtulerunt." They were mentioned for the first time by the council of Verona, which condemned them altogether with other heretics, as we have seen above, p. n. 76. V. SCHMIDT, op. cit., i. 143; ii. 294, 295. Cfr. with NEANDER and HAHN.

[2] STEPH. DE B. Cf. con PREGER, *Beiträge*, &c.

[3] V. *Historia Pontificalis* in my *St. de' Martiri, Introd.* p. 182. Some mention of them occurs here and there. Thus at the siege of Crema, an. 1159, there was seen "magna societas pauperum et egenorum," sneeringly called "filii Arnoldi." — OTTO MORENA, ad an. 1159, ap. PERTZ.

authority, priests should be successors of the apostles in faith and custom, and that where this was not the case their office was usurped, and even the administration of the sacraments was void.[1] As for the Umiliati, they originated from a free association of Milanese exiles, who, when they returned to their country, had not given up their religious habits nor their trade of weavers.[2] They worked in common, and divided their profits with the poor. They prospered, so that they did not fear competition: they multiplied both within and without Lombardy, like fishes of the sea.[3] Among their first statutes, there was none forbidding marriage, but taking the oath was forbidden. Therefore it was said: —

> Sunt et in Ytalia fratres humiliati
> Qui jurare renuunt et sunt uxorati.[4]

But this religious and beneficent association was too open to escape the suspicion of the papal police, and not to give rise to hateful murmurings.[5] It was denounced,

[1] Arnaldistae tamen perfidi haeretici dicunt nusquam legi quod immundis et luxuriosis ministris Christum sponsam suam ecclesiam traderet custodiendam, vel potestatem ligandi vel solvendi: quia illi soli (ut ait Gregorius) et justi in hac carne positi potestatem habent ligandi atque solvendi, sicut Apostoli, qui vitam vel fidem illorum cum eorum doctrina tenent. Unde, et dicunt, a talibus sacramenta praestita nec valent nec proficiunt ad salutem." — GUILELMUS DURANDUS, *Rationale div. offic.*, l. iv. c. 4, n. 19.

[2] So says TIRABOSCHI, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, diss. I.

[3] "Sicut pisces ita isti tam in Lombardia quam extra multiplicarunt." — IB.

[4] PREGER, op. cit., p. 33.

[5] "Orta murmuratione non modica contra hunc nostrum Ordinem, licet haberentur omnes boni et sancti Religiosi, pluribus ex causis; scilicet et quia fratres . . . habebant regulam sive modum vivendi non conformem alicui Religioni approbatae, nec a summo Pontifice approbatum; similiter quod . . . nolebant, etiam ubi opus erat, jurare." TIRABOSCHI, ib., diss. iii.

and we must admit that it was not truly Catholic at the time Lucius III. condemned it at Verona, as we have seen.[1] But the sentence, as it generally happens, had the effect of dividing the members into two parties;[2] urging some to do servile homage to the seat of Rome, which enrolled and blessed them,[3] and others to greater intimacy, not only with the followers of Arnaldo, but also with those of Waldo, who had just arrived in the midst of these discords. And what was the result? A fusion (a partial one at least) of this triple re-action, which had in common the law of voluntary poverty; and a larger sect sprang up, flourishing and independent, which may be called the "Poor Italians" or "Waldensians of Lombardy."[4]

This sect had its chiefs and its school in Milan, where, notwithstanding the snares of the clergy, they enjoyed greater security, thanks to the moderation of the civil authorities, who were at times even favorably disposed.[5]

[1] Here above, p. 22, note 3.

[2] "Non iis tantum, sed posterioribus etiam temporibus non satis interdum pius Humiliatorum coetus ab haeretica Humiliatorum secta distinctus est." TIRABOSCHI, ib. Cfr. ibid., the Bull of Innocent III., of June 12, 1201, and the Chron. of Ursperg, ad an. 1212.

[3] "Nullum e Romanis ante Inn. III. Humiliatorum coetum literis suis confirmasse existimo . . . Anno MCCI Junio mense tres Humiliatorum Ordines eorumque leges literis suis Innocentius comprobavit." — IB.

[4] "Qui se humiliatos *vel* pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur," says the Bull of Lucius III.

[5] For instance, it is a notable fact that a piece of ground was granted the Waldensians by the town, for the construction of a school or place of worship. Innocent III. alludes to this where he writes to the Archbishop of Milan about "quoddam pratum quod commune Mediolanense ipsis olim concesserat, in quo sua schola constructa consueverant convenire ac exhortari fratres ad invicem et amicos, quam bonae memoriae praedecessor tuus destrui fecerat, dum essent excom-

From all parts there collected those of the same religion, —sometimes to do homage to the primates or to offer their contributions;[1] sometimes to pursue their studies, especially that of the Sacred Scriptures, coming out as teachers and evangelists.[2] Here, then, was a limit to the power of him who raged against the Albigenses. It was a territory less propitious to crusades than to disputes and discords. Hence we must not be surprised, if, under the incubus of excommunication, the Waldensians divided themselves into two parties: on one side the peacemakers, who had in no wise forsaken the Church of Rome; on the other, the dissenters, resolved to live not only independent of it, but also of the Ultramontane Waldensian traditions. Now, the former have lain for centuries bedewed by the pontifical benediction, under a miserable stone, on which antiquaries

municationis vinculo innodati, et nunc iterum est erecta." — *Epist.*, xii. 17, an. 1209, ap. BALUZ.

[1] "Habeo inquisitionem in Bohemia et Polonia contra Valdenses sub rege Johanne, circa 1330 Domini annum factam, ubi, inter alia, diserte fit mentio collectarum, quas fratribus et praeceptoribus suis in Lombardiam soliti sunt mittere." — MATT. FL. ILLYR., *Catal. Test. Verit.*, Frankf. 1666, p. 638. V. also URSTISIUS, *Fragm. inc. auct.*, ii. 90.

[2] "Qui, ut ipse recognovit nobis, per totum dictum spatium — for at least eighteen years that he had been absent from his country — apud Mediolanum studuerat in secta haereticorum Waldensium, firmans novum Testamentum corde, et multa veteris, per quae posset sectam suam defendere et nostram fidem impugnare et simplices subvertere." STEPH. DE BELL., ib. FLAC. ILL. refers to this school, rather than that of Pra del Tor, when he writes: "Fuerunt enim in Longobardia veluti Scholae seu Academiae quaedam hujus verae Christi Theologiae." And it does not appear that the following words refer to any thing else: "In alia inquisitione invenio eos esse solitas ex Bohemia causa descendi Theologiam, ad suos praeceptores Waldenses in Lombardiam profiscisci, veluti ad Scholam seu Academiam quandam." — *Catal. Test. Verit.*, Frankf. 1666, pp. 638, 639. Moreover, FLAC. ILL. places the Waldensian Valleys not far from Milan.

with difficulty read an inscription that says: "Poor Catholics!" [1]

"Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa,"

and let us turn to the others, who having put their hand to the plough, look no longer behind; neither to the Pope, who invokes again upon them the fire of heaven,[2] nor too much to Waldo himself, who was their teacher and guide.

Here we arrive at a new phase, in which the physiognomy of the Waldensians of Lombardy becomes prominent.

As has been said, they had an ultramontane origin,[3] though born in Italy. A Waldensian branch grafted upon the kindred secular associations of Lombardy, they had imbibed from them their most characteristic and vital maxims, particularly those of the Umiliati. For some

[1] *Pauperes Catholici.* The first leader of this inglorious militia, Durando of Osca, well received by Innocent III., then again suspected of being "volpecula," visited Milan, and attracted there about a hundred Waldensians, proposing an arrangement whereby the Pope should assign them that certain portion of ground formerly occupied by a school, demolished by order of the archbishop, and there rebuilt. "Alii fere centum reconciliari volebant, dummodo quoddam pratum . . . ipsis concedere velles, ut ad exhortationem mutuam faciendam fratribus et amicis libere valeant convenire. Unde nobis humiliter supplicarunt, ut pratum praedictum eisdem faceremus concedi ad proponendum in schola praefata more solita verbum Dei." — INN. III., Ep. xii. 17. There was then also a second band of deserters, led by Bernardo Primo, he also well-known in Lombardy. V. GIESELER, pp. 617–620; HAHN, vol. i. *Beilagen* iv.; DIECKHOFF, op. cit., passim.

[2] "*Conc. Later.* iv. can. 3, ap. *Decr. Greg.*, l. v. t. 7, c. 13.

[3] "Dividitur haeresis Leonistarum seu Pauperum de Lugduno in duas partes. Prima pars vocatur Pauperes Ultramontani; secunda vero Pauperes Lombardi. *Et isti descenderunt ab illis.*" — RAINERIUS, op. cit.

time they were not wanting in feelings of fraternity and reverence for their first guides. It is true, that, as long as Waldo was alive, he followed them with his eye, and the power of his name contributed much to keep them united if not subordinate. But after his death dissensions and strifes were inevitable, not only because on certain points they felt somewhat differently, but also on account of incompatibility of temper and circumstances; and we have clear indication of this in the fact that we are about to narrate.

It was in May, 1218. Not far from Bergamo, there gathered a few Waldensian deputies, who had come from both sides of the mountains separating Lombardy from Germany.[1] There were twelve delegates in all, six for each side. Their names have come down to us:[2] with one exception they are quite unknown.[3] The object of the meeting was to settle a sort of controversy concerning the election of rulers, the ordination of ministers, the relations with the working classes, the baptism of children, marriage, and the celebration of the eucharist; finally to solve some personal questions.[4] The discussion com-

[1] "Anno nativitatis Christi MCCXVIII mense maio juxta civitatem Bergami." — *Rescriptum haeresiarcharum Lombardiae ad pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alamania*, ap. PREGER, *Beiträge*, &c., written, according to the calculations of this writer, about 1230.

[2] "Quorum nomina sunt: Petrus de Relana et Berengarius de Aquaviva, qui ambo tunc temporis accionem ultramontanorum annualem juxta suam consuetudinem procurabant, G. de Cremano et G. Turantus, Optandus de Bonate et Julianus, qui ut ab ipsis audivimus pro communi sue societatis consilio convenerant cum totidem ex nostris fratribus, quorum nomina sunt hæc: Johannes de Sarnago et Thateus, Thomas et Maifredus, Johannes Franceschus et Jordanus de Dogno." — IB.

[3] That Thomas, mentioned by MONETA as "Doctor perversus," was one of the leaders of the Poor, or Brethren of Lombardy.

[4] De controversia quae inter nos et ultramontanos . . . versatur. . . . Ad videndum de pace." — IB.

menced, became fervent and protracted; a few differences disappeared, but dissension still continued on two points: the first had reference to the sacrament Christ established as a symbol of union, but which his disciples more than once, as now and even in the days of the Reformation, had made, alas! too often, the subject of discord; the other related to Waldo.

The Waldensians still held the doctrine of transubstantiation; but those from beyond the mountains were of the opinion that the virtue of the sacramental words was sufficient, without regard to the character of the minister or the believer;[1] but our Italian friends, while holding that the power of transubstantiation emanated from the Redeemer through his word, did not grant its realization where there was not true faith in the officiating priest as well as in the communicants. And here they supported their assertions by many declarations of the Sacred Scriptures, which really have nothing to do with transubstantiation, but prove conclusively that the promises of the Lord are made only to believers, and are never left under the control of the wicked.[2] In vain did they allege sentences of the Fathers: they were confuted by others equally authoritative.[3] And as they were accused of contradicting themselves, since they had at first agreed with their brethren on these disputed questions, they answered, —

"*When we were children, we understood as children, we*

[1] "Quod panis et vini substancia per solam verborum Dei prolacionem vertitur in Christi corpus et sanguinem, addentes: nos non homini sed verbis Dei virtutem attribuimus." —IB.

[2] They quote, for example, *Matt.* v. 13; *John* ix. 31, xv. 4; 2 *Cor.* vi. 14–16, and many passages of the Old Testament. Then they conclude: "Hanc Valdesianorum confessionem, quam contra tam multa divina testimonia faciunt, omnino respuimus." — IB.

[3] "Sed quia quorundam incredulitas, intelligimus vero de quibus ait Apostolus (*Gal.* ii. 6), doctores nobis conatur obiicere, qui nihil

spoke and thought as children; but when we became men, we put away childish things; and we do not believe that those among us who died with this superstition are for this cause condemned if they served the Lord to the end. If, therefore, you censure us for not thinking as you do, and for refusing to join you in the same confession of faith, we will say, *We cannot* believe against the already known evidence of the Sacred Scriptures, neither would we adhere to such a creed, even if the Waldensians wished to force it upon us, because *we must obey God rather than men.* Paul did not yield, and he himself asserts it to those who desired to bring him back under the yoke of the law. And after Peter had declared the command he had received in a vision, concerning the conversion of Cornelius, the brethren of the circumcision made no more opposition, neither did they enter into discussion; but they quieted themselves, and glorified the Lord, saying, *Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.*"[1]

Another point was yet to be decided upon; and, though of minor importance, it contained the venom which usually is found in personal or party controversies. Waldo and

tradiderunt, doctores audiant illorum impericiam presumentes." Then follow sentences of Ciprianus and Gregorius.

[1] "De confessione vero sive credulitate super hoc sacramento olim nostra obiicienti nobis breviter respondemus: cum essem parvulus . . . Si quis vero opponat: quare non ergo et vos adhuc credentes sic confitemini? respondemus: quia contra veritatem scripturarum jam propalatam credere non possumus, nec eciam, licet Valdesiani in hoc nos vellent cogere, volumus confiteri. Oportet enim obedire Deo magis quam hominibus. Nec enim Paulus volentibus eum in legis servitutem redigere, ut ipse testatur, ad horum subieccione cessit, sed neque fideles ex circumcisione beato Petro post exposicionem ordinis visionis et conversionis Cornelii opposuerunt . . . nec inter fratres de hiis suscitaverunt discordiam, sed dixerunt glorificantes Dominum: ergo et Deus gentibus poenitentiam ad vitam dedit. — IB. For passages there mentioned, see 1 *Cor.* xiii. 11; *Acts* v. 29, x. and xi.

his colleague Viveto had died, mourned by all the Waldensians who cherished the memory of their apostleship. Their example was more than ever felt. Instead of following it, some fanatics magnified too much its memory; and they exalted the man, rather than the divine power manifested in him. They expressed a desire to be called after his name, and to profit by it, a thing he had never done or allowed.[1] And one can understand how with this tendency they were led to believe themselves his truest disciples, while, if Waldo had returned to life, he would probably have looked for them on this side of the Alps. It is easy to comprehend how this subject must have fired all minds, and caused warm and exciting discussions. But the greatest debate arose on the question of the destiny of Waldo after death. The Italian party, not inclined to define questions of this kind, nor even to subordinate to them the interests of the community, limited themselves to acknowledging that he was saved if, before dying, he had made his peace with God.[2] At this point one of the ultra-

[1] No Christian sect ever had from its founder the permission of assuming his name, from the primitive believers who followed Paul, to the disciples of Waldo, and down to those of Luther and the other reformers. On the contrary, by naming themselves as they did, they degenerated from them. The words of Paul on this point are well known (1 Cor. i. 10–13). And Luther, paraphrasing them, wrote of himself and the so-called Lutherans: "Nicht also du Narr du muss dich nicht Lutherisch nennen. Was ist Luther? Ist doch die Lehre nicht mein. So bin ich auch für niemandem gekreutziget. Wie komme ich armer stinckender Maden-sack dazu dass man die Kinder Gottes nach meinem heillosen Namen sollte nennen? Nicht also lieber Freund; lasset uns ausstilgen die partheyischen Namen und Christen heissen." — *Opp. Germ. Lutheri*, t. iv. This certainly was the opinion of Waldo, who, it is reported, even said, "Se nolle aliquem in societate ultramontanorum aut Ytalicorum fratrum fore prepositum in vita sua nec post mortem." — *Rescriptum*, ib.

[2] "Facta enim adhuc quadam sua super Valdesio et Viveto mortuis

montane delegates burst forth in indignant assertions: "We, on the contrary, say that *Valdesio* is in Paradise; and if you do not join us in this belief, let us speak no more of reconciliation."[1] It does not seem possible that the Waldensians of the other side of the Alps should have desired this only as an homage to the free and sufficient grace of God: they had much to learn on this subject as well as their brethren of Lombardy. At all events, if these did not like to contradict, neither would they bring themselves to pass a judgment that belongs only to the Lord, upon a man, however worthy and venerable.

Now, this controversy did not end for several years, as appears from the Report, or Rescript, that refers to it, and which was sent to the brethren of Germany,[2] in the name of those of Lombardy. One may certainly infer from this that there was not always among them a unanimous opinion on all subjects. But this did not prevent unity of faith; since we find them praying earnestly for

questione respondimus: Valdesium et Vivetum, si pro omnibus culpis et offensionibus suis Deo satisfecerint ante obitum, posse salvari." — IB.

[1] "Quam dicti ultramontani responsionem penitus respuentes unus ex illis sex . . . scilicet Petrus de Relana sine verbi addicione in suorum et nostrorum fratrum predictorum presencia inter cetera protulit: Dicimus Valdesium in Dei paradyso esse, subjungens, quod, si nos eandem quam et ipsi de Valdesio confessionem non faceremus, pacem nobiscum habere non possent. Et hoc est unum e duobus, de quibus inter nos et Valdesii socios adhuc discordia demoratur." — IB.

[2] We read there that the controversy *jam diu versatur*, and the date of the conference for the writers already goes back to a time somewhat remote — *olim*, they say; the very reason for which Preger states that the Rescript had come out about the year 1230. The despatchers were ten in number, and their names: "Otto de Ramezello, J. de Sarnago, Tadeus Marinus, G. de Papia, L. de Leganio, G. de Moltrasio, J. de Mutina, J. Franceschus, Jordanus de Dogno, Bononius atque Thomas." — IB.

each other,[1] and maintaining, as much as time and change of circumstances would allow, the relations of brotherhood that had existed up to that time, and which the school of Milan naturally served to strengthen.[2] Here we admire particularly the candid and free manifestation of piety, the growing conception of the authority and virtue of the word of God, which then spread rapidly from city to city, from province to province, calling forth unheard-of prohibitions.[3] Gradually the Waldensians left behind them the other re-actions as divided they fell: they outlived the Arnaldisti, the Umiliati, the Cathari, and all those sects; they increased and remained alone in the arena apparently defenceless and faint-hearted, but yet feared; not because

[1] "Gracias agimus Deo nostro in omni memoria vestri semper in cunctis oracionibus nostris pro omnibus vobis cum gaudio deprecacionem facientes super communicacione vestra in evangelio Christi a prima die usque nunc, confidentes hoc ipsum, quia qui cepit in vobis opus bonum perficiet in diem Christi Jesu, sicut est nobis justum hoc sentire pro omnibus vobis eo quod habemus vos in corde et in defensione et confirmacione evangelii, socios gaudii nostri omnes vos esse. . . . Salutat vos nostra societas. Orate pro nobis." — IB.

[2] Therefore we do not hold that the conference of Bergamo had any thing to do with that mentioned by STEPH. DE B., ap. d'ARGENTRÉ, vol. i. p. 85, no. 5. Cf. here LOMBARD, *Pauliciens, Bulgares et Bons-Hommes*, &c., p. 175.

[3] Already Greg. VII., writing to Vratislaus, King of Bohemia, had shown himself adverse to the free interpretation of the Sacred Books. V. MANSI, xx. 296. Innocent III., in his epistle, *Ad Universos Christianos tum in Urbe Metensi*, &c., lib. ii. 141, condemned it; comparing the inexperienced reader to the beast that ventures upon the sacred mount, and is stoned to death according to the law of Moses. But the Council of Toulouse, an. 1229, can. 14, first issued the most absolute prohibition, in these terms: "Prohibemus etiam ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut novi laici permittantur habere . . . Ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus." FLEURY remarks: "C'est la première fois que je trouve cette défense." — *Hist. Eccl.*, liv. 79, c. 59.

of angry invectives or loud demonstrations, but on account of the intimate faith they had in the power of the truth. We do not mean to say that they passed unscathed through the furnace of trials. In a few centuries we find them diminished in numbers: one would say that where their voice was first most obvious, it was now silent; and that it was thenceforth heard where it had been most subdued, viz., in the Valleys. Here the light of the gospel continues to burn; nay, more, it is fanned by the wind of persecution; the principal institutions are kept alive; among others the ecclesiastic and missionary meetings, the worthy though humble school of the Barbi; there is the heart from which bursts forth the faith which is to flow with fresh vigor to the most distant cities and provinces. The Waldensian people, in consequence of the oppressive laws, and also by the more natural one of rapid increase, had filled to overflowing their limited territory. So that, when they had the opportunity, they again sent forth colonies down as far as Calabria,[1] where new communities sprung up and became the object of the pastoral zeal of the brethren before they were noticed by the agents of the Inquisition. The new ministers kept them in view in their excursions as they came down from the Valleys, two by two, and more frequently than ever; on their going and returning, in the midst of great dangers, they sowed the word of life; they comforted the scattered and weakened congregations of believers; they listened to their longings and wants, and these found echo in the bosom of what was already regarded by many as

[1] PERRIN, l. ii. c. 7; GILLIO, c. 3. Besides VEGEZZI-RUSCALLA, *Colonia Piemontese in Calabria*, in the *Riv. Contemporanea*, Nov. 1862. V. there the diplomas of Charles d'Anjou. Cfr. with *Archivio St. Ital.*, an. 1846, t. ix. p. 193 and *seq.*, with the MS. entitl.: *Histoire Véritable*, &c.; finally with DE BONI, op. cit.

the Mother-Church.[1] But the movements of these pastors did not escape the vigilant eye of the Inquisition; which at first discovered the place of meeting of their fellow-believers, then followed their footsteps up to the doors of the Valleys, spied them on all sides, and surrounded their inviolable refuge with the flames of persecution.[2] Overpowered by oppression, what will the Waldensians do? They stand, yet soon languish in their safe retreat: their light grows dim, and it is even rumored about that the school of the Barbi has ceased to exist.[3] One would think that to prevent the extinguishment of the sacred fire that no longer glows, they hid it under the ashes. Whoever seeks it finds it;[4] and it will again be manifest to all, when reached by the breath of the Reformation.

Now that we have traced the origin and the first progress of the Waldensians, let us proceed a little farther to notice a few principal facts concerning their writings, which, more than those of their enemies, shall afford us information upon their beliefs and customs.

Of the Waldensians it may be said, that, originally at least, they were a people *unius libri;* but this, the book *par excellence*, the Bible. First, we notice their transla-

[1] Thus do we learn that in the largest cities, even in Rome, the Waldensians have followers, but no regular ministry, as in the Calabria and in the Valleys. — GILLIO, chap. 3.

[2] GILLIO, chap. 4.

[3] "De scholis Waldensium, quas inveni in valle quae dicitur Engroiia (sic) et earum destructione." VINC. FERRERI, ap. RAYNALDUS, *contin. ann. Baron.*, an. 1403.

[4] Witnesses of this are Lucas and his companion Thomas, called the German, sent by the Brethren of Bohemia to visit our Waldensians, an. 1497. Having descended to Florence, they witnessed the execution of Savonarola. At Rome they met a Waldensian who dared not proclaim his faith, and they did not spare him their reproaches. V. CAMERARIUS e LASITIUS, ap. ZEZSCHWITZ, *Die Katechismen*, &c., pp. 165–167.

tions[1] and annotations;[2] then miscellaneous writings. We would not here undertake an enumeration of them, — it would be too long.[3] Their poetical compositions have a genuine worth; while the prose, notable on accoun tof their number and variety, are wanting at times in originality. The first annotations, we know already, are a meagre collection of sentences from the Fathers;[4] nor do later ones amount to any thing more.[5] Several treatises, even creeds, contain doctrines taken, now from the most authoritative Catholic authors,[6] not excluding some Popes;[7] now from dissenting writers, mostly from Bohemia.[8] Some of the Waldensian works, especially the poetical ones, first appeared in France, some in Germany, a few in Italy. Years ago there rose very grave doubts about the date of some

[1] V. GRUZMACHER, *Jahrbuch für roman. Lit.*, iv., and DIEZ, *Grammatik der roman. Sprachen.*

[2] V. above, page 16, n. 2, and also DAV. OF AUGSB., 5.

[3] V. MUSTON, *Israël des Alpes*, vol. iv., *Bibliographie;* DIECKHOFF, op. cit., p. 1, *Ueber die Manuscripten-Literatur der Waldenser*, pp. 11–144; HERZOG, various writings, but specially *Die Rom. Waldenser;* TODD, *The books of the Vaudois;* finally P. MEYER, *Krit. Zeitsch.*, &c., 1, 36.

They are still found in manuscripts, and scattered in the libraries of Cambridge, Dublin, Geneva, and also, more rare, in those of Paris, Grenoble, Zurich, and München. They were partly reproduced by PERRIN, LÉGER, MORLAND, and ALLIX, but with more exactness by RAYNOUARD, HAHN, HERZOG, and a very small proportion by MELIA and BENRATH.

[4] "Auctoritates ex libris eorum truncatas decerpunt." — DAV. AUGSB., 5.

[5] For instance, the *Vergier de consollacion*, where is found "grant habundancia d'auctoritas."

[6] Besides the Fathers, for instance, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard, August. Triumphus, &c.

[7] For example, St. Sixtus and Leo Magnus.

[8] Besides Wicklef — venerated in Bohemia and by them as *doctor evangelicus* — are mentioned Joh. Huss, Joh. Andreas, Jac. de Misa &c.,

of these, which Perrin, Léger, and their followers had made to go back as far as the beginning of the twelfth century:[1] this they did for the purpose of a mistaken defence of the Waldensian faith.[2] The discussion proved long and animated, and the more so because a little light upon the origin of the Waldensians was expected from it. Indeed, it was not barren of results. The delusions of those who had already proclaimed them to be older than their ancestors began to disappear.[3] The date of the *Nobla*

[1] Perrin allowed himself in a wretched manner so to manipulate the original manuscript notices as to turn to irony the following verses of an easy admirer: —

L'hIstoire au vray racontée
Est le seul sujet de Perrin;

particularly in that which refers to the writings entitled *Memoirs of Morel, Confession of Faith, Catechism, Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of the Saints, Sacraments, the Ten Commandments*, not even respecting the *conclusions* of the Synod of Angrogna, an. 1532. Léger follows his example, and quotes in the most inaccurate way, to say the least, the writings of Catholic authors, whom he has the thoughtlessness to call witnesses of that which they did not admit. After him, BREZZI, TIM. PEYRAN, AM. BERT., &c., repeat without taking the trouble to verify.

[2] If MAITLAND first got the credit of detecting the fraudulent assertions of PERRIN, who had in hand the MSS. now kept in Dublin, to DIECKHOFF belongs that of having denounced them with powerful arguments, though he, perhaps by re-action, went somewhat too far. It is not evident, for instance, that the first origin of these impositions may be found in the compilation of D. Vignaux, or between 1571 and 1587; nor that the Waldensian writings are all modern because others made them too ancient; nor that, on account of their priority, the Catholic chronicles alone are worthy of reliance. HERZOG, among others, made himself meritorious with his last investigations exposed in his *Rom. Waldenser.* This is a work of thoughtful criticism, rather positive than negative, compared with the hypothesis of his predecessor. Had he been able to include in the circle of his studies the MSS. of Cambridge, there would remain little or nothing to be added.

[3] GILLY, a very great friend of the Waldensians and intrepid up-

Leiczon remained, however, enigmatical: this is a little poem ever golden with original purity and candor,[1] which reveals the physiognomy and even the name of the Waldensians.

"Ilh dion qu'el es *Vaudès* e degne e punir."

That date seemed to be expressly indicated in these verses:—

"Ben ha mil e cent anz compli entierament,
Que fo scripta l'ora car sen al derier temp,"—

which occur in two manuscripts, those of Geneva and Dublin. For awhile the question was to find the point of time *a quo* the herein-mentioned one thousand one hundred years and more were calculated, to establish the date of the poem.[2] We can easily imagine how differently these verses must have been interpreted. Some, anxious to conclude that the first Waldensians had existed prior to Waldo, traced them back to the twelfth century; while others placed them in the thirteenth to avoid a gross error. This oscillation of opinions was still continuing when the manuscripts deposited in the library of Cambridge by Sir

holder of their antiquity, confesses with bitterness to have been misled by ignorant or fraudulent writers, and he makes retractions: "I agree . . . that many of the Vaudois documents attributed to the twelfth and thirteenth century were of a much later period. . . . Perrin, ignorantly or fraudulently, gave the dates of 1100, 1120, and 1130, which internal evidence proves to be false. Léger, Morland, and other writers on the subject, misled by Perrin, followed in the same wrong path. . . . I confess to have been one of these in my earlier publications on Waldensian subjects twenty-four years ago."—*Rom. version of St. John, Introd.*, pp. xxxv-vii. Cfr. REUSS, *Rev. de Théol. et de Phil.*, June, 1851, p. 326 in margin.

[1] Whatever Dieckhoff may say of it, placing it in the cycle of Waldensian writings of Hussite origin. V. op. cit., *Ueber die Zeitangabe in der Nobla Leiczon*, pp. 141–144.

[2] With MUSTON, GILLY, EBRARD, &c., compare DIECKHOFF; REUSS, *Rev.*, &c., June, 1851; HERZOG, passim, especially in the *Rom. Wald.*, p. 77, et seq.; CUNITZ, *Rev.*, &c., Nov., 1853.

Morland in 1658 were found,[1] and among them a third copy of the *Nobla Leiczon*, — the oldest of all, — in which, by means of a magnifying-glass, the following version was discovered. It read:

"Ben ha mil e 4 cent anz compli entierament."

But, because of an erasure, the figure 4 was almost invisible; then this reading was confirmed by the discovery, in the same library, of a scrap of another manuscript of a later date, which reads:

"Ben ha mil e cccc anz compli entierament."

If this cannot be said to settle definitely the question of the date,[2] it nevertheless removes all anachronism, and thereby the last objections of those who complicated with their fancies a problem as clear and simple as that of the Waldensian origin.[3]

[1] BRADSHAW, *Discovery*, &c., ap. TODD, op. cit., p. 210, et seq.

[2] The disputed question upon this variation is to know whether it was added by the copyist, or was part of the original text. If it occurred in subsequent copies, the first hypothesis would be the most natural; but the priority of those of Cambridge are now unquestioned. Upon this point, at all events, see the essay of MUSTON, quoted already. The conclusions of internal criticism on this subject are still of primary importance. To him who produces the hypothesis of RAYNOUARD can be opposed the conclusions of others still more competent: for instance, GRÜZMACHER, DIEZ, &c. The latter, in his *Rom. Grammatik*, says, "*The Nobla Leyczon* . . . was already attributed to the end of the twelfth century, but it is now established that it is three centuries younger."

[3] HUDRY-MENOS had already commenced in the *Rev. des D. M.*, an. 1867–68, a series of articles entitled *l'Israël des Alpes;* but being informed of the new progress of the discussion relating to the *N. Leiczon*, he withdrew his opinion on the origin of the Waldensians. MUSTON follows him, but very slowly. Lately, making over his essay on this poem, he came out with this confession: "Le nom de Vaudès qui s'y trouve me paraissait une preuve de l'antériorité des Vaudois à

In the mean time, this study of manuscripts led to a more general examination, which was attended with new results: thus we are assured of the fact that the larger number of the known documents that have been preserved belong to the sixteenth century, and the others to an earlier period. Moreover, with regard to the origin of the writings, they must be divided into three categories: first, the most original, anterior to the times of Huss;[1] next, those that appeared or were altered under the influence of the Hussite re-action, as well as that of the Bohemian brethren;[2] and last, those contemporary with the Reformation.[3]

Now, if we keep in mind the chronological order, both of the Waldensian writings and of the Catholic docu-

Valdo. . . . Je dois reporter après Valdo cette composition. Elle serait de la seconde moitié et probablement de la fin du douzième siècle. On pourrait même sans anachronisme la rapprocher encore un peu de notre temps." — IB.

[1] For example, the *Rescriptum* of the Poor of Lombardy, the *Barca*, the *Nobla Leiczon*, the *Novel Confort*, the *Novel Sermon*, the *Glosa Pater*, the *Cantica*, the *Payre Eternal*, the *Despreczi del Mont*, the *Avangeli de li quatre semencz*, *Goy e Penas*, the *Articles de la fe*, the *Vergier de consollacion*, the *Tribulacions*, the *Pistola* or *Epistola amicus*, sermons, &c.; without forgetting the treatise of the *Vertucz*, which reminds one of the *Triginta gradus S. Augustini* recorded by the friar DAV. AUGS., 17, nor the version of the New Testament and several books of the Old, that must be distinguished from the Waldo original translation, which exists no longer.

[2] Among these, the *Epistola al serenissimo rey Lancelau* &c., the *Causa del nostre departiment*, *De la Potesta dona a li Vicari de Christ*, the *Catechism* derived from the *Interrogacions menors*, the treatises concerning the *Sacraments*, the *Purgatory*, the *Fasts*, the *Invocation of Saints*, the *Ten Commandments*, &c.

[3] For instance, the *Memoirs of Morel*, the *Conclusions of the Synod of Angrogna* extracted from the MSS. of Dublin by HERZOG.

ments,[1] we will have the thread leading to the end of our narrative.

Let us inquire, then, into the genuine doctrines of the Waldensians.

As we said before, they were called Leonists, from Leona,[2] the Latin name of the city whence they came; as followers of Waldo they retained, perhaps unwillingly, the name of Waldensians.[3] We may already infer, what is

[1] For the latter we have the example of CUNITZ, *Rev.*, &c., August, 1852; for the former, HERZOG in his *Programma de origine et pristino statu Waldensium*, &c., Halis, 1849; then in the *Rom. Wald.*, l. ii., cf. with a second art. of CUNITZ, *Revue*, &c., Nov. 1853.

[2] "Leonistae von Leona, Lyon." — GIESELER. Cfr. BOSSUET, *Hist. des Variations*, l. xi. c. 71.

[3] "Valdenses olim invidiosè nominati." Thus do they write from Provence to Germany, an. 1535. V. MS. of Strasb. in the *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1851. GILLIO writes: "Le peuple susdit venu de Lyon fut par les adversaires appelé Peuple Vaudois à cause de Valdo. . . Combien que le dit peuple refusoit au commencement ce titre, non pour mépris de Valdo, mais pour ne préjudicier au nom très-digne de chrestien et n'avouer d'estre sectaires et schismatiques comme leurs adversaires les en accusoyent faussement, et du dit refus appert tant par les livres des dits Vaudois, que de leurs adversaires. En l'epistre qu'ils écrivirent au Roy de Bohême Ladislaus, ils se nomment le petit troupeau chrestien faussement appelé Vaudois, et entr'autres aussi par le livre intitulé *Vittoria Triomphale* du moine cordelier Samuel de Cassini, où il dit au premier chapitre: *Tu dis que tu n'es pas Vaudois, mais membre de l'Eglise de Christ.* On voit donc que ce nom leur a esté imposé contre leur gré par leurs adversaires." — *Op. cit.*, c. 2. Herzog asks himself if these scruples did not arise at the time the Waldensians drew near to the brethren of Bohemia. In fact, it does not seem that at first the Waldensians complained of their name, although it had become outrageous; on the contrary, the Lombards call Waldensians the brethren of beyond the mountains, and nothing more. But they had really chosen that of Brothers and of Poor. Oto de Ramezello in the mentioned Lombard *Rescriptum* signs himself *confrater pauperum spiritu*, and in the *Lib. Sent.* ap. LIMBORCH, pp. 217, 222, 339, we read: "Vocabantur *pauperes de Lug-*

otherwise proved by facts, that, after the manner of Waldo, they sought for the supreme authority in matters of faith,[1] in the Gospel and all the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testament, not even excepting the Apocrypha: besides, they found there first a rule of conduct, that is, poverty according to the teachings of Christ;[2] hence their favorite name: Poor.[3] It is evident that we have here an example of literal interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, but this is an exception rather than a rule.[4] There is here

duno et ipsi inter se vocabant se *fratres*. . . Ipsi inter se vocant se *fratres*, et sic vocabant eos amici et *credentes* ipsorum. . . Credebat eos esse de secta et societate predictorum qui vocant se *fratres*, sed nesciebat ipsos esse *Valdenses*." It is plain, however, that the name of *Brothers* refers in a special manner to the class of *Perfects*; that of *Poor* includes the *credentes*.

[1] Ma l'Escriptura di e nos creire o deven . . .
Ma ayczo deven creire, car l'Evangeli ho di.

Nob. Leiczon, v. 19, 217. Cfr. ib., v. 236–265, 454–56; *Cantica*, vii. 13; *Articles de la fe*, and the MSS. of the Sacred Scriptures. The distinction between the inspired books and the Apocrypha is found in the *Purgatory*. "Quidquid praedicatur quod per textum Bibliae non probatur pro fabulis habent." — Ps. RAINER.

[2] Se nos volen amar e servir Yeshu Xrist,
Paureta spiritual de cor deven tenir.
Nob. Leiczon, v. 422–23.

"Pauperes de Lugduno . . . dannant omnes terrena possidentes." — STEPH. DE B.

[3] "Dicuntur autem Pauperes de Lugduno, quia ibi inceperunt in professione paupertatis. Vocant autem se Pauperes Spiritu, propter quod Dominus dicit Mat. v. 6: *beati Pauperes Spiritu*." — STEPH. DE B.

"Li paures, lo paure poble de Dio, lo poble de li paures, &c." — V. HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 142.

[4] They are accused of interpreting *ad literam*, and that is the case, specially at first. But what Ps. RAIN. says, that "mysticum sensum in divinis ss. refutant," is not always exact. Cf. the *Prediche*, the *Cantica*, &c., where the mystic and allegoric interpretation is mostly used.

an evidence of obedient faith, rather than a pretension to free examination and discussion. Here it is also plain that meditation and the preaching of the word are a duty more than a right; not a mere profession, but a work for all. And now our Waldensians preach what they read, and what impressed them, the word of Christ: Repent, the kingdom of God is at hand. The end draws near,[1] they say, and we are but dust: our life will soon be taken from us. The hour comes, which no man knows,[2] when we shall appear before God, our just judge. Who will be able to stand in his presence? Neither the worthless absolutions of the priests,[3] nor intercessions,[4] nor the vain hope of a purgatory that does not exist except in this life,[5] shall avail. Hence, come out of the broad road that

[1] Many rumors that had come from the East and from Spain, foretelling the end of the world, continued on into the thirteenth century, and even the following. They had the contribution of Gioacchino da Flora, of whom this saying is well known: "Omne tempus a 1200 ultra æstimo periculosum." It is easy to find the echo of this in the Waldensian writings, e. g., in the beginning of the *Nobla Leyczon*, and *Cantica* ii. 12, &c.

[2] La non es neun que vegna en aquest mont
Que sia de la soa vita segur d'un petit poynt.

So the *Barca*. Cfr. *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 11 *et seq.*; *Nov. Confort*, the end; *Temor del Segnor*, towards the end.

[3] *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 385 *et seq.*

[4] L'or ni l'argent non te secorrare,
Ni preguiera d'amic non te desliorare
Al dia de la besogna, cant l'arma perire.

Despreczi del Mont, v. 78–80.

These verses occur almost word for word in the *Nov. Sermon*, v. 127–128. "Defunctis fidelibus non prodesse vivorum eleemosynas, jejunia, missarum solemnia aliasve orationes." — BERN., c. 9. Cfr. DAV. AUGSB., 5.

[5] "Ponunt non esse poenam purgatoriam nisi in praesenti." — STEPH. DE BELL. "Credunt quod in ista praesenti vita solum sit penitentia et sit purgatorium pro peccatis . . . et quando anima recedit

leads to perdition,[1] enter the narrow path that leads to life, by means of prayer, vigils, alms, and fasts; do these and other works meet for repentance if you wish to obtain salvation.[2] But how shall we please God, if not by faith, through which we become his sons, capable of good works?[3] Therefore, let us first seek faith to be justified;[4] not a faith bare and sterile, but joined with love,[5] and full of good works.[6] Now, the source of faith, of love, of life, is Christ. So that we should look to him with longing to receive him in our hearts. There, through faith, he will diffuse the knowledge of his glorious name: he will cause his fear to bring forth in us works of justice.[7] Besides, he himself is like a tree planted in the midst of the Church, in the heart of every believer: he grows and blooms, rooted in us by fear, humility, mercy,

a corpore vadit ad paradisum vel ad infernum." — *Lib. Sent.* This had also been the opinion of Greg. Magnus, in his explanation of 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13. Cfr. with Catholic writers, ap. HERZOG, *De originē*, etc., p. 28, and with Waldensian writings, *Rom. Wald.*, pp. 158–161, and in the appendix, the *Purgatori.*

[1] Car tuit home del mont per duy chaminz tenren.
Nob, Leiczon, v. 20.

[2] E qu'ilh faczan penitencia en la vita present,
De junar, far almonas e aurar cum cor bulhent,
Car per aquestas cosas trobaren salvament.

Nob. Leiczon, v. 420–22. Cf. *Lib. Sent.*, ap. CUNITZ, ib., p. 116, n. 3, and HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 112.

[3] "Adocta en filhs de Dio." — *Vergier de Cons.*

[4] Hence the expressions *fe forma* and *justification de las obras*, in the *Cantica*, passim.

[5] Without love, the works and faith itself are vain. — *MS. of Dublin.*

[6] "La fe e l'obra . . . e l'un non val sencza l'autre." — *Cantica*, iv. 8. Cfr. ib., 3. Cfr. *Nov. Conf.*, v. 85–96.

[7] "El spandis per fe en las nostras armas la resplandor de la soa conoysença, e en apres l'espandiment de la fe planta la soa temor en li nostre cor, e per aquesta fay nos obrar justitia." — *Cantica*, ii. 8.

charity, justice, temperance, prudence, and fortitude.[1] Thus by active contemplation we grow into a temple consecrated to his presence: we are free from hell;[2] and we become heaven, his dwelling-place,[3] and by his grace we are made partakers of his divinity.[4]

Thus far, but no farther, does the primitive faith of the Waldensians soar, when carried away on mystic wings: it does not fall into Pantheism,[5] any more than it reaches Protestantism.[6] It still moves in the orbit of the oldest Catholic traditions,[7] without being at all inspired by the Augustinian re-action which leads to reforms.[8] Nevertheless, some dissension already exists, but not so much in the creed as in the spirit, the life, and the customs.[9]

[1] "Aquest albre es Xrist. . . pausa al mey de la gleysa o planta en chascun home fidel." — IB., 3. "Christo omnibus ad omnia abundè sufficiente." — CL. OF SEYSSEL.

[2] "El trays li seo d'enfern." — *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 322.

[3] "Lo Segnor ensegna nos esser tals que nos sian degne esser appella cels." — *Glosa Pater*, on the expression: "Payre local siès en li cel."

[4] "Devenir Dio per gracia e per participacion de la soa gloria." — *Tresor e lume de fe*, MS. of Dublin. Cfr. *Cantica*, iv. 2.

[5] Whatever STEPH. DE B. may say; see rather PILICHDORF.

[6] There is not in the Waldensian writings the slightest allusion made to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and it will be understood from the already mentioned words. Still, in the Purgatori, of a more recent date, we read that which Peter, Paul, &c., taught the believers to obtain salvation through works, — "meritar a lor salvacion per bonas obras." V. *Rom. Wald.*, p. 320.

[7] "Fides, ut ipsi dicunt, una est in ecclesia romana et in congregatione Waldensium, licet discrepantia sit in operibus." — MONETA.

[8] Ex., the doctrine of grace by election or predestination is never mentioned. In the *Payre Eternal*, v. 151, we read: "Ma segont ton bon placzer tot po esser salva."

[9] It is seen in the general tenor of treatises and sermons: they do not discuss dogmas, but they show the contrast between the apostolic morality and that of the new Pharisees. Cfr. with Catholic writers ap. CUNITZ, ib., pp. 109–111. V. besides HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, pp. 19–20.

In fact, what was their ideal? It was perfection itself. They strove to reach it by means of a strict, almost literal observance of the evangelical principles taught by Christ upon the Mount. That sermon was their code. It cannot be said that they went astray for the sake of novelty, since they adopted an interpretation which at least was not unknown, — all that for love of perfection. And this love made them free, as compared with others; so that while they had the appearance of a new species of monk,[1] they were really no more clerical than the first Christians. If they made a vow, it was to imitate Christ and the Apostles. That meant to obey but God alone;[2] to be poor, but humble;[3] to be chaste, without condemning marriage;[4] not to lie;[5] not to take an oath;[6] not to

[1] "In portandis sandaliis, more Apostolorum." — P. VALCERNAJ. "Calceos de super pedem praecidebant, et quasi nudis pedibus ambulabant. Praeterea cum portarent quasdam cappas, quasi religionis, capillos capitis non attondebant, nisi sicut laici." — *Chron. Ursp.*, an. 1212. They are even called: "Xabatatenses a Xabata." — EBER.

[2] "Conven obedir a Dio majorment que a li ome." — *Vertucz.*

[3] "Cell que ben azira horgueilh ama ben pauretat. Car pauretat met mot lo cor en bas. Ver so totz cor humils que son corals amis de pauretat son veray paures de esperit. Veray humils ama pauretat." — MS. of Paris, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, in *Provençal.*

"Nihil habentes . . . nudi nudum Christum sequentes, humillimo nunc incipiunt modo." — MAPES.

[4] "Lo gra de li maria es bel per la ley del legitime matrimoni. . . Ma lo gra de li contenent es plus bel per l'estenencia de la carn e per lo despreczi del mont." — *Cantica.* Celibacy is exalted, not prescribed: it is free as poverty, although preferable to marriage, which is the fourth sacrament. V. *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 242–243; *Nov. Serm.* v. 311, et seq.; *De vitiis*, &c., ap. HERZOG, R. W., p. 64; *Pistoleta*, ib., p. 178: Cfr. LYDIUS, i. 23. "Casti etiam sunt Leonistae." — Ps. RAIN.

[5] *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 369. Cfr. *Nov. Serm.*, where it says the *menczongier*, v. 281, et seq. "Alii tradunt Waldenses omne mendacium mortale peccatum vocasse." — ALANUS.

[6] *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 244–246. Cfr. *Nov. Serm.*, *Nov. Conf.*, v. 163.

hate nor kil!, even the persecutors,[1] who feared them none the less,[2] and sometimes gave them marks of respect.[3]

Now, in regard to the Church of Rome, they were dissenters, because they believed it to have wandered, faithless to Christ;[4] not, however, schismatic, as they did not lose sight of the little flock of believers it contained:[5] they loved peace, and sought the salvation of souls, more

"Qui dicunt nullo modo est jurandum." — ALANUS. "Dicunt quod omne juramentum est prohibitum in novo testamento tanquam mortale peccatum." — RAIN. Cfr. P. DE VALCERNAJ.

[1] *Nob. Leiczon*, v. 247–249, 256–259. Cfr. *Avangeli*, v. 189 *et seq.*; *Payre Eternal*, v. 125. "Ab ira se prohibent." — Ps. RAIN. Cfr. with others ap. HAHN, ii. 289. Then they condemn persecutions: "Quod autem ecclesia Dei non sit factura persecutionem alicui, volunt habere ex eo, quod nec Christus, nec ejus discipuli inveniuntur fecisse persecutionem sed potius sustinuïsse." — MONETA, ap. CUNITZ, ib. p. 117, n. 2. Cfr. with the *Nob. Leicz.*, v. 294 and 353. However, generally, as it is here seen, they are resigned to suffer them. Cf. with STEPH. DE B.

[2] "Inter omnes has sectas, quae adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiae, quam Leonistarum." — RAIN. Cfr. STEPH. DE B.

[3] "Mali erant, sed comparatione aliorum haereticorum longe minus perversi." — P. VALCERNAJ. Nevertheless, they also were made the object of the immoral stories which were never spared dissenting Christians. V. the *Epistola al Rey Lancelau.* Cfr. GILLIO, c. 2, and RORENGO, &c.

[4] "Leonistae dicunt . . . quod Ecclesia Romana non est Ecclesia Jesu Christi." — RAIN. "Non est Ecclesia Christi, sed Ecclesia maligna. . . Credunt quod Silvester papa instinctu diaboli fuerit aedificator Ecclesiae Romanae primus." — *Disp. inter Cath. et Pat.* Cfr. STEPH. DE B., DAV. AUGSB., MONETA, *Lib. Sent.* ap. LIMBORCH, 264.

[5] They distinguish "fidel catholic" from "mal catholic," for inst., in *Cantica*, ii. 6; they make a difference between the good priests they still consider authoritative, and the bad. V. *Novel Sermon*, v. 113–114. Cf. with STEPH. DE B., and others ap. CUNITZ, ib., p. 108, n. 2, p. 111, n. 5; also above, p. 23, note 1.

than the halo of martyrdom.[1] Where they were most isolated, they met together and prayed, mostly repeating the Lord's Prayer:[2] they meditated upon the promises of Christ to his disciples, lifting up their eyes unto him, as lambs that follow their shepherd.[3] Occasionally they celebrated his death with free communion.[4] So it happened that here and there sprung up small congregations, not absolutely separate, as was the case with the Pietists, known for their *ecclesiolae in Ecclesia.* But they did not remain quiet; they came out to visit the believers, or to seek the lost: they industriously took part in conversations;[5] they even entered the churches while mass was being celebrated, and united with the faithful.[6] For this,

[1] Thus it is, that, according to the circumstances, they are accused of simulation by the Catholics: see HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 213; while others accused them of excessive faint-heartedness, that is in days of decadence, as did the Brethren of Bohemia and the first Reformers.

[2] They add the Ave Maria, which they sometimes call a salutation, and sometimes not. V. HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 211.

[3] Yeshu Xrist li appella lo seo petit tropel
Aquesti son sas feas e seo veray agnel.
El li mena paiser al camp sperital
Troban mota pastura mot substancial,
Non manjaren herba mala, ni pastura mortal,
Ma son pagu del pan vivent e celestial.
Nov. Conf., v. 174 et seq.

[4] "In conventiculis suis celebrant . . . sibi mutuo partecipantes." — DAV. AUGSB. V. CUNITZ, ib. p. 113, n. 1.

[5] "Aliquando quidam maximus inter eos fuit captus, qui secum ferebat multorum artificiorum indicia, in quae quasi Proteus se transfigurabat. Si quaereretur in una similitudine et ei innotesceret, in aliam se transmutabat. Aliquando ferebat habitum et signacula peregrini, aliquando baculum poenitentiarii et ferramenta; aliquando se fingebat sectorem, aliquando barbitonsorem, aliquando messorem. . . Alii similiter idem faciunt." — STEPH. DE BELL. Cfr. DAV. AUGSB., *Lib. Sent.* ap. LIMBORCH.

[6] "Frequentant nobiscum ecclesias, intersunt divinis, offerunt ad

it will not be said that they betrayed their faith, yet undefined; which, although free from any idolatry,[1] did not exclude certain practices, for instance, that of the confessional:[2] it admitted the seven sacraments,[3] and, as we have already seen, transubstantiation.[4]

altare, percipiunt sacramenta, confitentur sacerdotibus et benedictiones sacerdotum inclinato capite suscipiunt . . . ne lupus ab ovibus dignoscatur." — DAV. AUGSB.

[1] There is hardly any mention of the Saints in their more genuine writings, but there is no want of indications of peculiar veneration for the Mother of Jesus. In the *Nob. Leyczon* she is called "sancta, vergena gloriosa, nostra dona," v. 30, 214, 216; elsewhere even "regina del cel," as in the *Serm. de Herode*, &c. She is "beata," first-worthy of honor, after God, according to the *Glosa Pater.* Therefore perhaps at times they repeat the Ave with the Lord's Prayer. At any rate, Christ is the only mediator. V. *Payre Eternal*, v. 82–84; and in this respect the treatise *De las envocacions de li Sant.* Cf. LYDIUS i. 70, 85, 234. "Solum Deum adorandum dicunt." — STEPH. DE B. Cf. DAV. AUGSB.

[2] The most conservative abide by the sentences of the most liberal of the Doctors, concerning the confession, especially those of P. LOMBARDUS, *Sent.*, l. iv. dist. 18, c. 4. Cfr. *La Barca, Nob. Leiczon*, v. 385–413; towards the end, as also "Ponunt solum Deum a peccatis absolvere." — STEPH. DE B. "Solus Deus absolvit de peccatis, et ille, cui fit confessio peccatorum solummodo dat consilium, quod debeat homo facere, et injungit poenitentiam, et hoc potest facere homo sapiens et discretus sive sacerdos sit sive non." — *Lib. Sent.*, ap. LIMBORCH.

[3] This invariably, except a few various interpretations. V. the treatise on the *Sacraments*, ap. HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 307 et seq.

[4] "El dev creyre verayament que poys que lo preveyre ha dit sobra lo pan e sobra lo vin las parolas ordenas de Y. X., azo viaczament dal pan es fait lo cors de Y. X. e dal vin es fait lo sang de lui. Ma non conventa rendre raczon en cal maniera puisa esser ayzo. Ma basta a nos aquella solucion, car X. es veray e tot poderos. . . Enaysi poc e po traformar lo pan e lo vin al sio cors e al sio sanc." — *Glosa Pater.* Indeed, STEPH. DE B. attributes to the Waldensians the interpretation already professed by the Cathari, according to which "in figura quadam dicitur corpus Christi;" but if there is not here any con-

And yet growing with their faith there was already a germ, an element, of schism. The first Waldensians were not *canes muti*, as the laity of that time, but living Christians. The love of the Word of God moved them all, even the women,[1] if not to preach, at least to testify.[2] They were the more laical because priests in the truest sense of the word.[3] There never was such an anti-clerical clergy. Some regulations, however, had been adopted in some of the more or less dissenting communities, since we find here a special and regular ministry,[4] bishops or priests and deacons;[5] senior and junior fathers;[6] the

fusion, one may infer only that such was the opinion of a small minority. Later, the error has the tendency to disappear. V. again the treatise on *Sacraments*, also HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, p. 325, et seq.

[1] "Dicunt ab omni qui scit verbum Dei in populis seminare, praedicandum esse. Quoniam Jacobus dicit: *Scienti bonum facere et non facienti, peccatum est illi.* Quare autem si scimus evangelizare et cessemus, graviter peccamus." — BERN. F. Cfr. ALANUS.

[2] "Praedicant omnes passim et sine delectu conditionis, aetatis vel sexus." — BERN. F. "Non solum viri sed et feminae apud eos docent." — DAV. AUGSB. "Contra hoc praeceptum Apostoli (1 Cor. xiv. 34) veniunt Valdenses: mulieres enim eorum praedicant in Ecclesia." Cfr. STEPH. DE B.

[3] "Lo prever es un chascun fidel," who gives himself to the "leiczon contunia" of the Sacred Scriptures. — *Vertucz.*

[4] The Waldensian ministers, to give themselves up entirely to preaching, renounce possessions and even work. "Quod praedicatores non debent laborare manibus." — ALANUS. "Ambulant inquiete, nil operantes." — BERN. FONT. CAL. Cfr. EBER BET. "His ministrant discipuli necessaria." — DAV. AUGSB.

[5] "Inveni per multas inquisitiones et confessiones eorum in jure, tam Perfectorum, quam Credentium." — STEPH. B. Cfr. DAV. AUGSB. et *Lib. Sent.* ap. LIMBORCH.

[6] They are called: the first, *vesco o vesque o evesque;* the seconds, *preire;* the thirds, *diache.* They say *devant pausa* to designate the first; sometimes even the seconds, called more properly *menor pausa. Cantica*, passim. "Ordinem ecclesiasticum . . . ipsi ad minus triplicem confitentur, scilicet Episcopatum, Presbyteratum et Diaconatum,

brethren divided in two classes, — perfects and believers ;[1] here and there a few synods, or conferences, and schools.[2] But the schism goes no further: it even loses its force, and apparently reduces itself to a protest against the hierarchy of Rome.[3] And either because its vigor had been weakened, and fear of persecution had gained access to the minds, or for want of the full knowledge or the sincere and open profession of the more vital doctrines barely indicated in the symbols, the Waldensian faith, like an opening bud withered by the storm, began to fade. It is also true that it revived somewhat under the influence of the double re-action of the Hussites and of the brethren of Bohemia,[4] which also contributed to hasten the separa-

sine quo triplici ordine Ecclesia Dei non potest esse, nec debet, ut ipsi testantur." — MONETA. "Item credebat quod in Ecclesia non sunt nisi tres ordines, episcopalis, sacerdotalis et dyaconalis." — *Lib. Sent.* ap. LIMBORCH. Among those bishops, there is one who is well known: Bishop Stephen, who served as link between the Waldensians and the Brethren of Bohemia, and was burned at Vienna. But notice that he had been made bishop by Catholic ordination. Thus far, it does not appear that the Waldensians had bishops according to the Romish and modern acceptation of this name.

[1] "Magister major et minor," or "payre religios major e menor." — *Cantica, Iudici final*, passim. "Cristinus qui erat major inter eos . . . majores illius sectae." — *Lib. Sent.*, ib. Cfr. STEPH. DE B. Those two accompanied each other in their missionary excursions: "Bini et bini circumeunt." — MAPES.

[2] These schools are hives of the missions. "Quidam dicuntur *perfecti* . . . nec omnes ad hanc formam assumunt, sed prius informantur ut et alios sciant docere. . . . Sunt magistri et confessores, et circumeunt per terras visitando et confirmando discipulos in errore.' — DAV. AUGSB. Those of Milan and Angrogna are well known.

[3] With her there never were concessions. It is understood, since Christ lives and reigns the highest Bishop and Priest. "Sobeyran Vesco." — *Cantica.* Cfr. *Vergier.* It seems that Waldo did not admit of individual primate in the church, whatever may be quoted from Thomas in MONETA. Cf. *Rescriptum.*

[4] Of this we have an unequivocal indication in the documents that

tion.[1] But in order that this should come to pass, it was necessary that a restoration of beliefs should take place,[2] which indeed followed the action more or less imperious of the Reformation, into which the Waldensian re-action resolved itself.[3] Then occurred the schism which detached it from the Church of Rome, and united it to the evangelical churches.

And now, from what has been said, what are we to infer concerning the origin and the nature of this re-action?

We said in the beginning that it resembled the Nile on account of the supposed mystery of its origin. We will now resume the simile to conclude, that, notwithstanding certain clouds, it is yet perceptible that it springs from the heights of Catholic tradition, from the rock of the Sacred Scriptures by means of Waldo. We see rivulets

originated from this re-action and others which, by its influence, underwent modifications, especially with regard to the Apocrypha, the Purgatory and some Sacraments, the Antichrist, which is no more to come, as in the *Nob. Leyczon*, v. 457, nor had come in the persecuting monks, as we see in the *Tribulacions* and the treatise *De Vitiis*, &c.; but is evident in the Pope and his hierarchy. V. the *Antichrist*.

[1] The conception of the separation, hidden in the writings inspired by the Bohemian re-actions, assumed striking precision in the treatise *Aiczo es la causa del nostre departiment*.

[2] So conscious were the Waldensians of this, that they sent two pastors to consult the doctors of the reformation, for example, Ecolampade and Bucer. See about this mission SCULTETUS, *Ann. Evangelis*, &c., reproduced by DIECKHOFF; the memoirs of MOREL, MS. of Dublin, amply quoted by HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*; finally, the MARTINI BUCERI *responsiones*, &c., which, by the efforts of the same investigator, came to complete those of Ecolampade in the *Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol.*, an. 1866.

[3] Cf. the doubtful points indicated by Morel with the answers of the two reformers, then with the resolutions of the Synod of Angrogna, an. 1532, according to a Waldensian MS. of Dublin, reproduced by HERZOG, *Rom. Wald.*, and also by BENRATH in the *Rivista Cristiana*, Florence, an. 1876.

flowing into it on all sides: here, Christian doctrines mixed with Romish errors; there, ascetic customs and ecclesiastic forms already in use with the Cathari, but still free from their Pagan superstitions; farther on, new notions derived from the re-actions of Huss and the brethren of Bohemia; finally it widens, and empties into the sea of the Reformation. And in its changeable course it was ever beneficent, since it restored to honor the Word of God, obscured by traditions. It made the life, the liberty, the fellowship of believers to shine in contrast with a clergy, vulgar, despotic, and sectarian. Between the degenerate Church of Rome and the Reformation there was, in a dogmatic, moral, and even ecclesiastic point of view, a period of transition, which reminds one of that between the synagogue and the apostolic Church. Entered upon by an apostle of the Sacred Scriptures, it enrolled a legion of masters in an age fruitful in illiterate people; and therefore at the dawn of new days it was ready to receive them with the aid of the Bible printed in their mother-tongue.

APPENDIX.

Here are a few fragments of the MS. entitled *Histoire Véritable des Vaudois*, No. 169 in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele of Turin. We quote from pages 31–36 and 42 : —

"Tout ce que nous avons de plus asseuré sur ce chapitre est que ces misérables se logèrent dans ces montagnes de Dauphiné sous le règne de Philippe Auguste roy de France et de Gui quatrième comte de Vienne et de Dauphiné et que s'y étant une fois plantez la nécessité les rendit tellement laborieux et adroits à les cultiver jusques aux plus petits recoints que n'aiant nulle autre occupation ni nul autre moyen de subsister avec leurs familles déjà nombreuses il y défrichèrent peu à peu de quoy fournir à leurs besoins. Néanmoins se voyant fort à l'étroit dans le Pragelas et dans les montagnes voisines qui ne pouvoient les loger tous qu'avec grande peine car ils se multipliaient furieusement, ils passèrent de là aux montagnes de Piémont qui sont au dessus de Périer dans la Vallée de Saint-Martin et à celle de Val Lucerne qui sont le haut des communautés d'Angrogne, de Villar et de Bobio. . . Thomas premier comte de Savoie était sous la tutelle, non du duc de Bourgogne comme écrit Paradin, mais du marquis de Monferrat. . . Quand Thomas fut en âge de gouverner ses états il fut si fort occupé à calmer ces orages et à s'attirer l'estime et l'amitié de Henry et de Philippe empereurs fils de Frédéric, ce qu'il fit avec une habileté merveilleuse sans désobliger les Papes, que tout guerrier qu'il estoit et vaillant de sa personne, il ne put d'abord mettre ordre à tout ni pénétrer si haut, ne faisant guères que ranger au devoir ceux qui l'inquiétoient dans le bas Piémont. Dès qu'il en

fut venu à bout, soit qu'il ne fut pas informé de ce qui se passoit dans le haut de ces Vallées où les comtes de Luzerne, de Piozzasque et quelques autres avoient beaucoup d'authorité, soit que ces comtes ne le sçussent pas eux-mêmes estant allez avec luy à la guerre sainte sous Innocent troisième, il fut d'abord appellé à des expéditions plus importantes où il se signala. . . Pendant qu'il estoit absent de ses estats ou si fort occupé ailleurs, ces chétifs Vaudois qu'on ne connaissait presque pas ou qu'on méprisait comme des misérables n'eurent nul empêchement ni de la part de Thomas ni de la part des Seigneurs des Vallées du Piémont à s'établir dans ces montagnes à peu près par les mesmes moyens et aux mesmes conditions que dans celles de Pragelas en Dauphiné. . . Et certes à dire naïvement ce que je pense sur ce chapitre, je ne puis concevoir comment ou les Curez et les Religieux voisins, car il y avoit des monastères à leur voisinage plus de cent ans auparavant, ou les Seigneurs des lieux qui étoient également pieux et puissants ou mesme le peuple . . . ne s'avisèrent nullement, ceux-ci d'en donner avis ceux-là d'y remédier et d'étouffer ce monstre en sa naissance. . . C'estoit des gens à ne changer jamais de maximes, bien qu'ils changeassent de demeure. On avertit peu après l'Empereur qu'une partie aurait passé les Alpes pour se planter en Italie ; qu'à la vérité ils n'osoient se produire ni dans l'endroit le plus propre à se pousser plus loin, ni dans la Calabre et dans la Pouille où quelques uns auroient estés découverts depuis peu, ni dans la Sicile où le bruit courait qu'ils avoient pénétré ; mais que le Piémont et les provinces d'alentour comme plus voisines des Alpes où ils estoient nichez en des lieux la pluspart deshabitez alors en estoient toutes remplies et que s'ils se tenoient dans les autres endroits sans y entreprendre rien qui se fit sentir au dehors ils estoient néanmoins déclarez dans le diocèse de Turin où ils débitoient sans façon leurs blasphèmes et pratiquoient leurs brutalitez moins secrètement qu'ailleurs. Soit que cet advis vint des magistrats dont la vigilance se fit distinguer à cet égard, soit que l'Evêque de Turin qui les observait et qui en redoutait les suites prit soin d'en écrire à l'Empereur Othon, comme il est assez probable, soit que ce prélat luy demanda son secours et ses forces

pour les chasser à l'exemple de celui de Lyon, l'Empereur manda à l'Evêque environ l'an mil deux cents dix que de sa part il estoit résolu à ne souffrir nulle sorte d'hérétiques dans les terres de l'empire et que pour les Vaudois en particulier qui semoient leur Ivraye dans le diocèse de Turin non seulement il luy donnoit le pouvoir de les exterminer, mais qu'il le conjurait de plus d'employer pour cela toute l'autorité impériale. On ne doit pas douter qu'un Evêque aussi zélé que celui-là n'apportât tout le soin et l'application possible à remplir les devoirs de sa vocation et à faire exécuter les ordres de l'Empereur; mais Othon s'étant brouillé avec le pape à cause des terres de l'Eglise qu'il voulut usurper, et la guerre qu'il soutint en Italie où il estoit en personne pour s'en saisir ayant empêché presque tout l'effet du zèle de ce prélat, les Vaudois y demeurèrent sur pied."

On the margin, the anonymous narrator gives the Rescript of Otto, as reported by us.